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POSSIBLE CAUSE OF PACT MEETING POSTPONEMENT CITED

LD160059 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TANJUG) -- The official announcement regarding postponement of the regular Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting does not mention the reason behind this decision. It was announced on 28 December last year that the session would take place in Sofia in mid-January.

The reports on Friday by Western sources in Moscow according to which the cause of postponement could be K. Chernenko's "medical indisposition" have thus far not been officially confirmed. It is true that the 73-year-old Soviet head of state and party did not appear in Red Square during Marshal Ustinov's funeral, but somewhat later, on 27 December, he personally presented high-ranking awards to prominent Soviet writers. This is why well-informed Moscow sources do not link the postponement of the Sofia meeting to any deterioration in their leader's health, but allow the possibility that "bad weather was the cause of the East European leaders' joint decision to meet later."

Apart from this, these circles are more inclined to link the postponement to the preparation of a new political platform of the Warsaw Pact member-countries upon which it is necessary to build the elements on which the U.S.-Soviet Geneva agreement on starting new arms talks are based.

If one is to base one's judgment on Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's 2-hour television statement, the strategic opsition of the USSR and its allies has "fundamentally changed" since the most recent Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session in January 1983. This is the result of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe and of the strengthening of NATO's nuclear arsenals, to which the Warsaw Pact replied with "countermeasures" by starting the process of moving Soviet missile systems from Soviet territory to Czechoslovak and GDR territory.

The best indication that there has been a change is the fact that Gromyko was authorized to offer all the disputed questions regarding the missile crisis, which includes medium-range strategic weapons and space weapons, in the form of a package and also to offer integral talks to the United States. This calls for a new negotiating technique. In essence, well-informed Moscow sources say, the Warsaw Pact's Prague Declaration has not lost its topicality, but the new strategic position of the East European countries also calls for new criteria to maintain the military balance that has thus far existed between the two blocs.

The Soviet Union, as Gromyko specified, "has a mandate from its allies" to negotiate with Washington on their joint security and has the duty to "report" to the Political Consultative Committee on the contents of accords achieved during the Geneva talks between the United States and the USSR. From this should also emerge the Warsaw Pact's new platform, the biggest change in which could concern the modality of negotiating with the United States, while it is expected that "all the peace initiatives contained in the Prague Declaration will remain in force."

Marshal Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact's Armed Forces, who visited the Soviet Union's allies toward the end of last year, was allegedly given only a limited amount of time to prepare the Sofia summit meeting in light of the new U.S.-Soviet agreement in Geneva. His special mission, well-informed domestic sources here say, was also made delicate by three changes in the Warsaw Pact's command headquarters, because apart from Marshal Ustinov's death the Hungarian and Czechoslovak defense ministers have been replaced.

According to what can unofficially be learned in Moscow today, this could be one of the reasons behind the sudden decision to postpone this regular Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session.

CEMA ENERGY REGULATIONS DISCUSSED AT TALKS

LD151902 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] The CEMA Executive Committee is holding talks in Moscow on the CEMA integrated energy system and the development of electric energy supplies. Hungary's representative put special emphasis on the need to ensure that the regulations within the integrated energy system are rigorously adhered to. Individual member-countries should only consume energy within the coordinated limits laid down. Operational safety and systematic order should also be intensified. In the current extreme weather conditions this is very important for Hungary and the other member-countries which depend on energy imports to a great extent, Hungary's representative stressed

It was also noted at the Moscow session that the council dealing with central load distribution of the integrated energy system had held an emergency session and reached a decision in harmony with these requirements.

The CEMA Executive Committee also dealt with the need to improve the supplies of spare parts for machinery and equipment in reciprocal trade between the CEMA countries. With regard to transportation cooperation, it was noted, among other things, that vehicles that use less fuel and are less harmful to the environment should be produced: This applies primarily to private automobiles and aircraft.

TURKISH SOURCES REPORT BULGARIAN ETHNIC VIOLENCE

NC160838 Istanbul GUNES in Turkish 14 Jan 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] According to letters and oral information received by Turks from relatives in Bulgaria, about 1 week before the New Year, clashes took place in the town of Mestanli (Momcilgrad) in Kircaali District, which has a population of 7,000, between government forces and Turks who are forcibly subjected to assimilation. During these clashes, 40 of our kinsmen and a few Bulgarians were killed.

According to these reports, Bulgarian military units surrounded Mestanli toward the end of December in order to force the Bulgarian Turks to forget their identity, a campaign which the Bulgarian authorities have been waging for years. The soldiers are quoted as having said: "If you don't all go to the town hall and change your names (or if you do not submit the necessary petitions for this purpose) no one can save you from us."

When some members of the crowd replied: "We will not go. We have our own names and birth certificates," the atmosphere became tense. Meanwhile, word spread that the soldiers' guns were not loaded. When the soldiers forced the people to go to the town hall, clashes took place. Some of the soldiers, who were given bullets, fired at the people. True, some Bulgarian soldiers died too, but 40 persons of Turkish origin, died.

Following these incidents, the Bulgarian police launched a large "arrest" operation, while Bulgarian Government officials uttered these words: "Whom are you relying upon? Turkey sold you to us long ago."

The bodies of those killed in the clashes were kept at the mortuary and were only turned over to their families a few days after the New Year.

FILIPOV, CSSR TRADE MINISTER DISCUSS RELATIONS

AU152034 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 14 Jan 85

[Text] Comrade Grisha Filipov has received Bohumil Urban, CSSR foreign trade minister. During their official talk they reviewed the state of the implementation of trade and the forms of production sharing between Bulgaria and the CSSR in 1984, and discussed the development of trade relations in 1985.

The prospects for the development of the exchange of goods and production sharing between the two countries during the upcoming 5-year plan period were also discussed. It was agreed with satisfaction that the mutual foreign trade relations and cooperation are developing at an accelerated rate and that the present implementation of the exchange of goods ensures a considerable overfulfillment of the long-term agreement on the current 5-year plan period.

Questions connected with introducing greater variety into the forms of cooperation and with the expansion of industrial production sharing were discussed as well during the talk.

KHRISTOV MEETS AFGHAN LEADER, CONVEYS GREETINGS

AU141248 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jan 85 p 4

[Zhelyaz Yankov dispatch from Kabul]

[Text] Kabul, 12 January (BTA) -- Today Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA], received the BCP delegation led by Emil Khristov, BCP Central Committee secretary. At the invitation of the PDPA Central Committee the delegation is visiting the DRA on the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PDPA.

Comrade Emil Khristov greeted Comrade Babrak Karmal, PDPA members, and the entire Afghan people on behalf of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and conveyed wishes for further successes in their heroic struggle for the cause of the April revolution.

Comrade Babrak Karmal expressed the warm gratitude of the PDPA Central Committee and the entire party for the assistance rendered by the BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the friendly Afghan people.

The willingness to strengthen and expand cooperation between the BCP and the PDPA and the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the DRA was confirmed.

Comrade Emil Khristov had meetings with Saleh Mohammad Ziray, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, and chairman of the Central Council of the National Fatherland Front, and with Anahita Rotebzad, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Organization on Peace, Solidarity, and Friendship, and chairman of the Central Council of the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women.

The Bulgarian delegation laid wreaths on behalf of the BCP Central Committee at the monument to those who have died for the revolution.

Comrade Emil Khristov and Mir Sahib Karwal, secretary of PDPA Central Committee, renewed the protocol on cooperation between the BCP and the PDPA signed during Comrade Babrak Karmal's visit to Bulgaria in 1981 for the period of 1985-1986.

Today a meeting of the Bulgarian-Afghan friendship took place at the "Kam-AZ-2" plant in Kabul.

Emil Khristov, leader of the BCP delegation, conveyed greetings on behalf of the BCP Central Committee:

Dear comrades, with a sense of happiness and satisfaction I fulfill the responsible instruction of conveying to all members and candidate members of the PDPA and the entire Afghan people the most cordial and friendly greetings of the BCP Central Committee and Bulgaria's Communists and working people on the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PDPA.

The Bulgarian Communists and the entire people deeply respect the PDPA, which for 2 decades already has been steadily struggling amidst difficult internal and international conditions, for the defense of the vital interests of the working class and your country's entire working people, protecting the national independence, and the freedom and social progress of the friendly Afghan people.

The glorious April anti-imperialist, antifeudal, and national democratic revolution was conducted under PDPA leadership. Under the banner of the PDPA the DRA is selflessly struggling to eradicate century-old backwardness and construct the foundations of a new society, free of exploitation.

As guests of your anniversary celebrations we had the opportunity to get acquainted with the successes achieved by the friendly Afghan people under the leadership of their party vanguard. These successes strengthen our conviction that despite the resistance of the internal counterrevolution and the continuing and undeclared war of imperialism, hegemony, and reaction against the DRA, the cause of the April revolution and PDPA will ultimately triumph.

The BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria have always expressed their solidarity with your just struggle. Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, declared from the rostrum of the 12th BCP Congress: "From the first day of the April revolution in Afghanistan we have unreservedly supported the Afghan people and their leader -- the PDPA."

Comrades, during the past year the Bulgarian people festively celebrated their cherished jubilee -- the 40th anniversary of the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria. For a relatively short historical period Bulgaria's Communists and entire people, rallied around the BCP Central Committee, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, turned Bulgaria, underdeveloped in the past, into a highly developed and modern socialist state. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is making its active contribution to further strengthening the power and unity of action of the socialist community, led by the USSR, and is rendering active support and expressing solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism, neocolonialism, and reaction, for national and social liberation.

On the glorious 20th anniversary of the founding of the PDPA we express our firm conviction that the relations between the BCP and the PDPA between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the DRA, and between the Bulgarian and Afghan peoples will further strengthen and expand in the name of the common struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, and reaction, for the cause of peace, security, and social progress throughout the world.

Long live the fraternal friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples and may it strengthen.

Long live the PDPA.

FATHERLAND FRONT DELEGATION VISITS UGANDA

For Kampala reportage on the visit to Uganda by an economic and Fatherland Front delegation, including the signing of a trade agreement and a meeting with Ugandan President Milton Obote, see the Uganda subsection of the East Africa section of the 15 January Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER MARTIN DZUR DEAD

LD151905 Prague Television Service in Czeck and Slovak 1830 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Tex] CTK reported a short while ago that Army General Martin Dzur, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and deputy of the Chamber of the People of the Federal Assembly, died this afternoon after a long and difficult illness. Comrade Martin Dzur was a direct participant in the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people. He was a member of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR. After the war he held significant command posts in the Czechoslovak People's Army, including the post of minister of national defense.

ATTACKS ON 'JOINT DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM' DECRIED

Part I

AU141901 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jan 85 p 6

[First part of article by Vitaliy Kovalenko: "Who Falsifies the Principle of the Joint Defense of Socialism, and Why?; An Attack From Diverse Directions"]

[Text] The Leninist principle of the joint defense of socialism, which reflects the objective reality of the existence and development of socialist states under continued attempts by imperialism to change the course of history by force, leaves no hope for imperialism to resolve the historic conflict between the two socioeconomic systems by force of arms, and is thus a constant target of attacks by anticommunists of all sorts.

In recent years, these attacks have become particularly acute. They seek to distort the purpose and aims of military-political cooperation among socialist countries within the framework of Warsaw Pact organizations; they consistently suppress the truth about peace-loving initiatives by the Warsaw Pact member-states; and they consciously misinterpret the efforts of the countries of the socialist community, whose efforts are aimed at safeguarding peace in Europe and all over the world and curbing and ending the arms race. The enemies of socialism, who have not become reconciled to the existence of a strong counterweight to the aggressive policy of the United States and the entire NATO Pact, have in recent years launched a broad-scale attack against the principle of the joint defense of socialism. This attack has three main directions: distortion of the very ideotheoretical foundation of the socialist countries' defense alliance, the principle of socialist internationalism; denial of the essential need for a joint defense of socialism; and, finally, the recommendation of various forms of military-political blocs of socialist countries without the participation of the USSR.

Fiction and Truth About Socialist Internationalism

Attacks on the principles of socialist internationalism concentrate on two main propositions. The first of them is the claim that socialist internationalism truncates the national independence and sovereignty of the socialist countries, which reportedly also applies to the sphere of military defense. Such views, which have found their ultimate formulation in the concept of "limited sovereignty," are actively championed by R. Staar, T. Gilbert, M. Jumgotch, P. Summerskil, S. Kaplan, and others.

Let us note a characteristic bagatelle here: In the interest of integration of the forces of imperialism, bourgeois ideologues long ago declared national and state sovereignty to be a "historical anachronism" and the sovereignty of individual countries a thing of the past. Various models of international and supranational state monopoly corporations and associations are being praised to the skies. However, when socialist internationalism is concerned, the very same ideologues immediately begin to literally scream, and not just speak, about "violations of sovereignty," "diktat," and so forth.

Let us recall that the question of full-fledged sovereignty and its place in the system of socialist internationalism has been resolved long ago, and quite unambiguously, by communists themselves.

As early as 1883, F. Engels wrote: "International bonds are possible only among NATIONS, [capitalized word published in boldface] whose existence, autonomy, and independence are part of the very term internationalism."

This tenet, formulated by one of the founders of scientific communism, is consistently observed by the CPSU and other fraternal countries. As communists stress, socialist internationalism does not preclude sovereignty, but presumes it. The June 1983 session of the CPSU Central Committee reaffirmed that the principle of socialist internationalism contains unconditional respect for the sovereign rights of every country as well as mutual comradely support and mutual assistance.

Nor can another proposition of the bourgeois "adversaries" of socialist internationalism stand up to criticism -- the claim that this principle allegedly serves the interests of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union imposes this principle on others. This proposition became widespread in the West in the second half of the seventies. It is typical of the writing of S. Fischer-Galari and many other "Sovietologists" and forms the basis of the book "Soviet-East European Dilemmas: Coercion, Competition, and Consent" -- 1981, written by K. Davish, F. Hansen, G. Ericson, M. McIntosh, and E. Moreton, people known for their highly negative attitudes towards everything associated with socialism.

Unity of Common Interests

The main deficiency of these claims is that their authors assess socialist internationalism as a phenomenon alien to the workers class and the people of the socialist countries, as something that has been introduced and forced upon them from the outside. They ignore the fact that proletarian internationalism stems from the unity of the main interests of the people of countries that have set out on the path of building socialism. "For nations to be truly united, they must have common interests. And to permit their having common interests, all existing ownership relations must be done away with...." This scientific prognosis of Karl Marx has been confirmed by history. It is precisely liquidation of the private ownership of production assets and the formation of a social system free of exploiting classes that gives birth to unity between the main interests and goals of the people of socialist countries. The multifaceted cooperation of the socialist countries and the quest of the communist and workers parties for a consistent implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism ensure a harmonious linking of the interests of every individual socialist country with the interests of the socialist community as a whole.

On the basis of these principles, the socialist community grows in strength and advances, as does every socialist nation, relying on the assistance and support of others. The sovereignty of socialist states is strengthened and the most favorable conditions for a free, successful development of every fraternal country and for the solution of all tasks it faces are created.

Part II

AU141922 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jan 85 p 6

[Second part of article by Vitaliy Kovalenko: "Who Falsifies the Principle of the Joint Defense of Socialism, and Why?; Attempts to Shake Our Unity" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The lie about the basic principles of socialist internationalism remains in the active arsenal of those who, putting on various masks, strive to distort the purpose and aims of the socialist countries' military-political cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and to discredit this cooperation. Naturally, they do not confine themselves to a frontal attack on the principle of socialist internationalism itself. Several bourgeois "experts on socialism" try to shake the foundations of the socialist states' defense policy from the opposite end. They deny, for example, the very need for a joint defense of socialism.

"Everyone for Himself" -- A Deliberate Provocation

A typical example of such an "approach" to the question of principles on which, supposedly, defense of the socialist states can be built is the praise for "relying on one's own forces" in defense matters. The argument that the socialist countries can, and must, ensure their defense only by means of "national forces" is put forward, among others, by C. Jones in a book from the Rand Corporation (an organization with close links to the Pentagon and the CIA) "Soviet Influence in Eastern Europe: Political Autonomy and the Warsaw Pact" (No 4, 1981, p XI)

These and similar propositions cannot be considered anything other than untenable and provocative. What matters is not only, and not so much, the fact that the proponents of such propositions deliberately pit against each other the use of internal forces in the defense of socialism -- which, they say, is more correct and more natural -- and the use of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance. The Western "patrons of socialism" deliberately ignore the complexity of the current international situation and the real threat posed by the aggressive circles of imperialism. Finally, the authors of the concept of "everyone for himself" also deliberately circumvent problems presented by the scientific and technological revolution and the resulting qualitative changes in the military sphere, which, if the defensive strength of socialism is to be strengthened, can only be effected through joint endeavor.

The class goals pursued by the enemies of the joint defense of socialism are clear. V.I. Lenin once wrote: "The interest of capital is to defeat the enemy (the revolutionary proletariat) little by little..." That which was correct when socialism began to be built is three times as correct today and requires very precise conclusions. One of them is that under the present conditions it is impossible to guarantee the security of the socialist countries by individual defense alone. It has been proven in theory and in practice that it is impossible to defend only one socialist country and not the entire socialist system as a whole. The imperialist threat to one socialist country spells danger for all of them; it is precisely joint defense by the fraternal countries that represents a reliable guarantee of averting imperialist aggression and protecting against it.

"No Matter How, as Long as It Is Without the USSR" -- Anticommunism in a Pure Form

Finally, it is impossible to ignore the third way in which attempts are made to drive a wedge into the joint defense policy of the countries of the socialist community.

In recent years, bourgeois authors have in their writing been attributing an increasingly prominent place to all kinds of military-political blocs of the socialist countries without participation by the Soviet Union and which are, in fact, directed against it. A great many such variants have been drawn up: the idea of setting up a bloc made up of three or four European socialist states (a so-called "regional military alliance"); the plan to revive the "Little Entente" (as a military bloc comprising several socialist and capitalist countries); the ideas of establishing an "East European," a "Balkan," or other confederations; and so forth.

Such ideas are, of course, scarcely anything other than delirious. There can be no doubt that their authors -- who base their notions on the malicious claim that, allegedly, "Soviet military strength" has replaced the "threat from the West" for the countries of Eastern Europe -- believe what they proclaim. The authors believe what they claim regardless of whether it is their new attempt to revive the myth of the "Soviet military threat" or their deliberate disregard for the fundamental differences between the military associations of imperialist states and the defensive alliance of the socialist countries.

Jointly -- in the Name of Peace

It is apparently necessary to remind these people of some basic tenets connected with the joint defense of socialism.

The joint efforts of the CPSU and other fraternal parties with regard to the joint defense of socialism and the joint efforts of all the states of the socialist community are not directed against capitalist states but only against the aggressive designs of imperialism. That is the first point. Second, socialist countries need no defense against other socialist states. And third, when communists speak of socialism being inseparable from peace, they do not think merely of the peaceloving foreign policy orientation of individual countries of the socialist community, but also of the objective foundations, because of which socialism is a social formation best prepared for the coexistence of nations in stable peace.

These objective foundations consist first of an ECONOMIC foundation: the social ownership of production assets precludes the exploitation of hired labor and consequently competition, and hatred. There is also a POLITICAL foundation. When we look at it we cannot fail to see that socialism requires rule by the working masses, a class of people which does not need war. Considering the IDEOLOGICAL foundation, the most important thing is as follows: Marxist-Leninist ideology, which rejects exploitation and oppression of man by man and nation by nation, professes peace, quality, and friendship among all nations as its basic postulates and unchanging, real values.

WFTU MEETING DISCUSSES COORDINATION WITHIN ILO

. 151616 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] A consultative meeting of representatives of the WFTU and of international trade union associations opened today in Prague. Present at the session are WFTU President Sandor Gaspar, CSSR Central Trade Unions Council Chairman Karel Hoffmann, WFTU secretaries, and representatives of 11 international trade union associations. The 2-day session will discuss the coordination of activities in the ILO and preparations for the 11th WFTU Congress next year in Berlin.

WFTU Secretary General Ibrahim Zakariya opened the session and paid tribute to the work of the international trade union associations which contribute to solving problems in individual manufacturing sectors.

He noted the importance of further increasing their participation in the activities of the WFTU to strengthen trade union unity of action, in the fight against the militarization of economies, and for peace and the rights of workers. He went on to note that the ILO was being abused by reactionary forces to make direct attacks on working people and on socialist and developing countries. In the interests of halting this trend, the WFTU had step up its activity and militancy, he said, so the ILO (?changed) its activity, helped to defend the interests of the working people, and participated in the struggle against multinational companies and unemployment and, in the struggle for guarding and strengthening world peace.

Hoffmann, MSZMP's Gaspar Meet

LD152135 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] A consultative meeting of representatives of the WFTU and of international trade union associations opened today in Prague. At the meeting Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and deputy chairman of the WFTU, met Sandor Gaspar, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, and chairman of the WFTU, and Ibrahim Zakariya, general secretary of the WFTU. In the course of a comradely discussion they dealt with questions connected with further improving the quality of WFTU activity, particularly its relationship with the ILO, preparations of celebrations for the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the WFTU, and with some topical questions concerning the contemporary international trade union movement.

Comrades Karel Hoffmann and Sandor Gaspar also discussed some questions of mutual cooperation between Czechoslovak and Hungarian trade unions and their joint contribution to dignified celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the struggle for peace and disarmament, and strengthening the unity of the international trade union movement.

PLANS FOR CHEMICAL, CONSUMER GOODS OVERFULFILLED

LD151515 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] According to preliminary results, the Czech chemical and consumer goods industries have exceeded by Kcs2 billion supplies for internal trade over the last 4 years on the Seventh 5-Year plan. The basic tasks set out in the operative plans have been fulfilled each year, including last year. The increased production was achieved through increased labor productivity and manpower reductions, particularly inthe light industry. Supplies for foreign trade have been ensured. The chemical indsutry also fulfilled its tasks despite a lower quantity of oil processed. The development of production in light industry had slowed down over these 4 years to the value of Kcs1 billion. This was caused in particular by persistent export problems, particularly in the textile and leather industry. Consequently, greater stress will be placed on more rapid innovation of product range in these sectors. This year's state plan for the Czech chemical and consumer goods industries stipulates a Kcs4.8 billion increase in the production of goods.

The main way to fulfill this task is to make full use of new technology, to increase production, and to improve and innovate the products, particularly footwear, clothing, and knitwear. Technological development must make a major contribution in this respect. The situation of enterprises producing goods for which there is no demand or which produce little return, while on the other hand there are still goods in short supply, can no longer be tolerated.

HOFFMANN RECEIVES KUWAITI TU DELEGATION

LD141855 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Jan 85

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, met today in Prague a delegation of the Kuwait Trade Union Federation led by its president, Nasir al-Faraj. The delegation is visiting the CSSR at the invitation of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The sides exchanged information about the activity and topical tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement and the Kuwait Trade Union Federation. They expressed satisfaction with the present level of mutual contacts and examined possibilities for the further development of cooperation. Karel Hoffmann, on behalf of Czechoslovak trade union members, expressed full solidarity and support for the struggle of the Kuwait Trade Union Federation, for the interests of working people, and for the unity of all revolutionary forces in Arab countries in the interests of peace and progress. Representatives of both trade union organizations, when evaluating international developments, stressed the importance of constantly strengthening the unity of trade unions in the struggle for peace and social progress.

AEROFLOT CARRIES CSSR, POLISH FOOD TO ETHIOPIA

LD112348 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 11 Jan 85

[Text] Another consignment of food for the starving people of Ethiopia is ready to take off. Here is a report from our correspondent, Vaclav Klement:

[Klement] Here at Ruzyne Airport a special Aeroflot aircraft, made available by Soviet trade unions to transport food aid from the socialist countries to the starving people of Ethiopia, touched down shortly before 1900. This second special flight from Prague, the first one left on 8 January, is to take Addis Ababa another consignment of food, this time from Czechoslovak and Polish trade unionists. After a short news conference by officials from the Central Council of Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions, the cargo bays of the huge aircraft began to fill up with 12 tons of Polish flour, sugar, biscuits, and other food, and 20 tons of Czechoslovak canned food.

Before the aircraft takes off, Emil (Grochol), head of the International Department of the Central Council of Trade Unions made the following statement:

[Begin Grochol recording] In the past we have helped our Ethiopian comrades establish their trade unions. We have provided them with various kinds of material help, both because they needed it and in order to help them begin real active trade union activities. We all know that at present the Ethiopian people have been affected by a catastrophic drought, and the trade union organizations are helping save the people. Thanks to our working people who have made contributions to the Solidarity Fund, we are in a position today to dispatch a second aircraft loaded with food aid for the starving people in Ethiopia, and this is part of the aid which is being coordinated by the World Federation of Trade Unions. The earlier aircraft which took off the day before yesterday, contained material aid, about 20 tons of it. Today we are sending food and basic equipment for evacuees amounting to another 20 tons. We are also preparing more material aid, which is to take off on another special Czechoslovak Airlines flight. That aid will also total 20 tons. [end recording]

The special aircraft with food aid for Ethiopia will be taking off from Prague tonight.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND VIEWS GROMYKO'S TV INTERVIEW

LD151328 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0210 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Berlin, 15 Jan (ADN) -- The leading GDR newspaper, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, comments today on Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko's television interview under the headline "Encouragement for All Peace Forces." The text of the commentary is as follows:

"We in the GDR have received Andrey Gromyko's television interview on Sunday with great interest and lively approval. By direct TV and radio relays and by the publication of the text of Gromyko's remarks in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and other newspapers, GDR citizens were able to comprehensively acquaint themselves with the remarks on the meeting between the foreign ministers of the USSR and the United States in Geneva and the prospects of the negotiations agreed on there between the two states. Everyone realizes that what is at stake here is the most important question of our time -- the permanent safeguarding of peace.

Andrey Gromyko defined the Soviet -- as well as our -- stance on this question, on the whole range of arms control and disarmament problems. The words of the Soviet statesman express socialism's unswerving desire for peace, the high sense of responsibility for one's own people and all peoples on earth, and the consistent and constructive socialist peace policy. What's more, they express the strength and the historical optimism of the land of the soviets, which four decades ago made the greatest contribution to the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over fascism and which today makes the greatest contribution in the worldwide coalition of peace forces to safeguarding the peoples of the globe from a nuclear inferno.

It is a matter of the whole range of questions concerning space and nuclear weapons, strategic and medium-range. Andrey Gromyko stressed this connection when he gave an overall positive assessment of the results of his Geneva meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz.

In Geneva the sensible Soviet stance, which corresponds to the interests of the peoples, prevailed in the sense that in the forthcoming negotiations between the USSR and the United States, neither the question of strategic arms nor the question of medium-range nuclear weapons can be discussed without also discussing the question of preventing an arms race in space.

The Soviet foreign minister explained, in a way that was understandable and convincing to everyone, how extremely important the prevention of an arms race in space is for the future of mankind and what awful consequences would result if one did not succeed in eliminating a "star wars." In the same way he also explained all other aspects and connections of the range of questions which, in accordance with the agreement, will be the subject of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

He explained, for example, why completely new negotiations are now to start and why the delegations to the negotiations consist of three groups, what importance the general and comprehensive control proposed by the Soviet Union has for general and comprehensive disarmament, what lies behind the U.S. concept of a missile defense system and aircraft carrier program, what differences there are between the nuclear potentials of the two sides, what is involved as far as the British and French nuclear weapons are concerned, and how the SALT agreements should be assessed from the present standpoint. All this is very important and useful for everyone who wants peace and is prepared to fight for it.

As Andrey Gromyko stressed, one of the main goals of the negotiations, as both sides have stated, is the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. "Every step by the two superpowers, not only by the Soviet Union but also by the United States, in questions concerning arms and disarmament must bring us closer to this goal, the exclusion, the complete exclusion, of nuclear weapons from the weapons arsenals," the Soviet foreign minister stressed.

The peace program of the Soviet Union and the joint peace policy of the socialist community of states has always been directed toward this great goal. As Andrey Gromyko stressed, the Soviet Union is prepared, given progress in questions related to space, to drastically reduce strategic armaments, naturally in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. On the other hand, the extension of the arms race to space would render negotiations on disarmament meaningless. In addition, the continued deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe would put the negotiations in doubt, the USSR foreign minister said.

The Soviet Union has suggested a freeze on all nuclear weapons. It favors ending all nuclear weapons testing. It favors implementing the treaty on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and the threshold treaty on questions of nuclear weapons testing. It recommends that all countries possessing nuclear weapons, like herself, assume the responsibility of not being the first to use nuclear weapons. These are all questions which, with goodwill, could be resolved today.

What Andrey Gromyko said on Sunday is the living expression of Soviet peace policy. He has thus also represented the position of our Republic and of the whole community of fraternal states. The Soviet statesman mentioned the significance of this concurrence during the talk. We have a common policy of principle, he said, and this lends force to our policy.

As Erich Honecker declared, the GDR welcomes the fact that agreement was reached in the talks between Foreign Ministers Gromyko and Shultz on resuming negotiations on the whole range of questions relating to nuclear and space weapons. In this we share the objective of the negotiations contained in the Soviet-American statement, the limiting and reducing of armaments, with a view toward the complete and comprehensive elimination of nuclear weapons. The world is one hope better off. There is no reason, however, to put one's feet up. The results of the meeting between Gromyko and Shultz as well as the achievements made by our workers, whose results in 1984 our media have recently reported, confirm this. All in all, there also exists a good basis to realize with even greater success the social political tasks of 1985.

To further comprehensively strengthen the GDR as a state of socialism and of peace, to achieve high results in the preparations for the 11th SED Party Congress, the citizens of the GDR will continue to actively cooperate. The GDR will at all times be a sincere partner in efforts for peace, security, disarmament, and cooperation.

For all the forces of peace in the world, the unerring and logical work of the Soviet Union for successful negotiations with the United States and for enduring preservation of peace is a great encouragement. It strengthens the conviction that every international problem, however complicated, can and must be resolved by peaceful means. The forces of peace, united in a worldwide coalition of reason and realism, can make a significant contribution toward realizing the Geneva agreements at the coming negotiations in the interests of all peoples.

ITALIAN CP PAPER REPORTS JAILING OF GDR PACIFIST

PM151715 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 11 Jan 85 p 4

[Silvia Zamboni report: "Pacifist Marxist But Enemy of the State"]

[Excerpts] "I am and will remain a Marxist and will not accept the label of enemy of the state," shouted Rolf Schaelike in a Dresden (GDR) courtroom a few moments before being sentenced to 7 years imprisonment on 3 December. The most serious charges against him were the "usual" ones leveled in the past at other independent pacifists like himself opposed to the deployment of both NATO nuclear Euromissiles in the West and Soviet ones in his own country: the crimes of "incitement against the state" (Article 106) and "slander against the state" (Article 220). More specifically Rolf Schaelike was accused of having long organized a slur campaign against the GDR's state and political order and of having read and distributed prohibited literature.

His case seems complicated by the convict's special personal and family history. Rolf Schaelike, 46, nuclear physicist, and father of three, two from his first wife and one from his second, was born in Moscow of German parents, communist exiles who supported Comintern. His father, following repatriation to Pankow in 1945, quickly became a prominent figure within the SED (the Socialist Unity Party, the ruling party in the GDR) in favor of the so-called Versoehnlern ("reconcilers") wing, which wanted a rapprochement with the SPD. In 1961 Rolf graduated in nuclear physics from Moscow University and began a brilliant professional career at the Central Institute of Nuclear Research at Rossendorf (GDR).

A self-confessed "critical Marxist," he was expelled from the party after some years, however, and suddenly dismissed from his job. Eventually, on 26 March 1984, he was arrested. In prison he continued to talk freely, attacking the current system of censorship in the country, and sent a statement to the head of state complaining about the ill-treatment he had received, but the Justice Ministry declared it entirely unfounded.

On his application to leave the country he wrote that he "no longer saw any future for himself or his family in the GDR."

HOLIDAY PROCLAIMED TO COMMEMORATE WW II VICTORY

LD151518 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1405 GMT 15 Jan 85

["Resolution of the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers of the GDR on the 40th Anniversary of the Victory Over Hitlerite Fascism and the Liberation of the German People" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 15 Jan (ADN) -- The people of the GDR, together with the Soviet Union and with all those who stand for peace, understanding among the peoples, social progress, and humanity, will mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people from Nazi domination.

The SED Central Committee, the Council of State, and the GDR Council of Ministers have resolved that in honor of the historic victory of the USSR and her allies in the anti-Hitler coalition, 8 May 1985, the 40th anniversary of the victory and of the liberation, will be ceremoniously marked as a holiday in the GDR.

On 8 May 1985 we shall respectfully commemorate the heroes of the Soviet Union and her renowned Army, all fighters against fascism and war, the German antifascists who carried out underground operations courageously and resolutely, in prisons and concentration camps, on the fronts of World War II and in exile, and gave their lives for peace and freedom.

LAWYER WARNS AGAINST EMBASSY ASYLUM EFFORTS

LD151403 Hamburg DPA in German 1232 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] East Berlin, 15 Jan (DPA) -- The text of the statement by East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel on the departure of the last six GDR citizens from the FRG Embassy in Prague is as follows:

"The last six GDR citizens, with problems primarily of a criminal nature, have voluntarily left the Federal Republic's Embassy in Prague. They are on the way to their hometowns, where they will submit their exit applications free from punishment. My authority as mediator, with the promise of freedom from punishment and processing by the relevant authorities, would no longer have been valid after 16 January. Nor will I have such authority, with a similar promise, in the future. I therefore most seriously and emphatically warn against any attempts at repetition. No one should be able to accuse me of not having made myself sufficiently clear."

SED DELEGATION CONVEYS GREETINGS TO AFGHAN HOSTS

AU141917 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 85 p 5

[Excerpts] Kabul (ADN) -- On 10 January the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan was commemorated in Afghanistan.

Some 30 delegations from friendly parties of 37 countries [as published] in Asia, Europe, Africa, and Latin America were cordially greeted as guests at the event. The delegation of the SED Central Committee was led by Wolfgang Beyreuther, member of the SED Central Committee.

Wolfgang Beyreuther conveyed the most cordial militant greetings of the SED Central Committee and of its general secretary, Erich Honecker, as well as of all communists and the GDR people. The SED and the GDR people feel great respect for the achievements accomplished by the party of the Afghan workers in the short time since its foundation, Beyreuther stated.

MARITIME ACCORD SIGNED WITH USSR IN MOSCOW

For a report on the signing of long-term maritime agreement between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, see the Eastern Europe section of the 16 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

NEPSZABADSAG COMMENTS ON GROMYKO-SHULTZ MEETING

AU151245 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Peter Sereny: "At the Beginning of a New Phase"]

[Text] "We can feel relief." We have written down these words, but what should we place after them? An exclamation mark, which is what we would like, or, for the time being, rather a question mark?

It is good news, and what good news, that in the Gromyko-Shultz meeting in Geneva they agreed that the Soviet Union and the United States will begin new negotiations, but can we believe even for a moment that this 15-hour-long exchange of views was enough to clear up all that has been burdening Soviet-U.S. relations, and through them international relations in general?

Of course, after the long -- too long -- break in high-level contacts, we would tend to regard as a breakthrough even the fact that a leading Soviet and U.S. politician sat down at a table at all. We cannot forget, however, that this time they talked "only," but compared to the precedents, they also talked "already!" and "about negotiations." What they agreed upon is for the time being no more than the subject and framework of the coming dialogue; but no less either, as the prevention of nuclear weapons and their reduction is literally an issue of life and death not only of Soviet-U.S. relations, but also of overall world politics.

What Is Awaiting Us and What Is Behind Us

There is no one today who does not gladly salute the results of the Gromyko-Shultz meeting in Geneva. It is worth pondering, however, that every politician's second word is that there are no de facto results yet, but only the opening of doors towards the possible achieving of such results.

Let us listen again to what the two protagonists of the Geneva talks, the Soviet and the U.S. foreign ministers, said about this: Gromyko: "These have not been simple negotiations. One step has been made, however, towards developing a dialogue between the two countries.... We are talking about only one step, if we think about the huge tasks to be reviewed in the negotiations on space and nuclear arms and on which we will have to make a harmonized decision." Shultz: "These meetings represent an important beginning. We cannot be sure where the negotiations will lead, and obviously we have still a long road ahead of us."

The truth is that we have also a long way behind us. The Gromyko-Shultz meeting is a ray of hope in itself because it appeared in the often disappointing darkness of nearly half a decade. Let us remember the tone in Washington not so long ago. Could the possibility of dialogue have even been considered when the custom was the cold-war, primitive-man style insulting of the other side?

Let us therefore be glad, at least for the time being, for the change in tone, especially since Reagan expressed his hope this week that the Geneva meeting "was only the first step" of a future, ongoing Soviet-U.S. dialogue. But let us not deny that our happiness is immediately followed by caution when the same President Reagan adds that he expects the Soviet Union to "help breathe new life into the process of dialogue."

There has been no lack of this kind of intention on the part of the Soviet Union to date; it is just that those in Washington have been busy with other things. Is it possible that Ronald Reagan does not fondly remember his administration's crisis-causing gestures -- from the "quarantine" around Poland to the sword of Damocles still hanging over Nicaragua, from the anti-Soviet embargo policy to the deployment of missiles in Western Europe?

Is is possible that with the world watching Geneva, it also escaped his attention that while Gromyko and Shultz were talking about the package deal of new negotiations, including nuclear arms, it was leaked from Belgium that 3 months before planned schedule, the government agreed on technical preparations for the deployment of U.S. missiles. Although Brussels officially denied it, it has not changed the fact that the Atlantic schedule remains unchanged.

Do you remember NATO's dual track, more precisely, "parallel" decision? To negotiate and in the meantime deploy? And do you remember where this has all led? It seems that Hans-Jochen Vogel, the leader of the FRG's SPD which helped to bring about the dual-track decision and who is currently politicizing from the opposition, does remember. More than that, he has even drawn certain conclusions because, saluting this week the initial step made at Geneva, he reiterated that according to him the deployment of Euromissiles should be halted as well as all the measures concerning space armament.

It would be good to hope that a process has now started in Geneva that would open a new page in Soviet-U.S. relations. But we must face the facts: It will take a lot of work before we can "work our way through" the extremely difficult previous events.

Historical Precedents

As to whether this is possible, this year history helps in the answer with two anniversaries at the same time. One is the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, which proves with considerable force that the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as Great Britain and France, in spite of all the social, political, and ideological differences, and even the opposition that existed among them at that time, were able to cooperate efficiently when this was the only way to save themselves and humanity from the craze of Hitler's fascism.

It is true that looking back after 40 years we know that the period of the anti-Hitler coalition was followed by the period of cold-war opposition, with its bad memories. But the other anniversary also reminds us of an ascending period: the decade of detente, at the peak of which, in Helsinki in 1975, the highest-ranking leaders of 33 European countries and the United States and Canada ratified with their signatures the "10 commandments" of peaceful coexistence, which is how the press at the time termed the principles of normal or even good interstate relations contained in the final document. Perhaps the cold-war winds which began blowing again at the end of the seventies, seemed so icy because we had previously tasted a more secure life and the advantages offered to all of us by the expanding cooperation based on real mutuality.

We can say, of course, that we have come a long way since the moving ecstasy of the famous meeting on the Elbe, which is recorded on film, too. But can we say the same about Helsinki? "The process," as the diplomats call it, is alive; this is all the more the case with us, as this year Hungary will be the host of the European Cultural Forum of the 35 Helsinki states. What is more, Finland is already considering how the 10th anniversary of the all-European summit and the Final Act can be jointly and appropriately celebrated.

All this is in the hope that the departure from detente in recent years proves merely to be a detour, and that here, too -- not unrelated to Geneva -- we might succeed in turning a new page. But, as Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen pointed out this week, it is still too early to guess what real effect the Gromyko-Shultz agreement will have on the prospects of a new Helinski meeting....

"Ups" here, "downs" there; the historical precedents that can be regarded as examples to be followed greatly concern the public. This was also reflected when Ronald Reagan was asked at his press conference this week: "In your opinion, can the Geneva dialogue lead to a new period of detente?" The answer was: "At the talks, of course, we will not discuss arms exclusively. I would like, however, to make clear what I mean by the concept of detente, which has been abused previously in some ways. Yes, we would welcome detente as long as it is a two-way street. Our problem in the past has been that detente has been too much of a one-way street, on which, on top of everything, we were going the wrong way." Come now, why would this street be one-way? Why would Helsinki have been the wrong direction? No, no matter how much we would like to, it is much too early to feel a carefree relief at the sight of the Geneva results. Nevertheless, even if one swallow does not a summer make, as the saying goes, it is still worth greeting as the Harbinger of something to be welcomed. We have already mentioned that the tone on the other side of the ocean is changing. Whether the policy is changing too, only the coming months, maybe years, will tell. However, it is a fact that the U.S. Administration, which always said no to reasonable peace proposals in the first half of the eighties (not only to the Soviet Union, but frequently to its own allies), has now nevertheless sat down at the negotiating table. Whether this is "strategy" or "tactics" is impossible to tell yet, but it is in any case an important development. It indicates that a course of confrontation as a policy cannot only not last, but it is increasingly difficult "to sell."

It is a complex matter: Business considerations may play equally as important a role as the realistic assessment of dangers or even "feasibility considerations," as superarmament is such a burden that even the richest country in the world finds it difficult to carry, judging from the $200 billion budget deficit of the United States -- as LE SOIR of Brussles points out commetning on the Geneva meeting. A U.S. commentator wrote this week in THE NEW YORK TIMES: "Many officials of the Reagan administration recognized that bad relations with Moscow means bad policy and bad relations with the allies, too."

Let us read this sentence again: The author has formulated it rather precisely. He does not write "the" administration, but only "many officials of the administration." The fact that there are such officials, and even many, is a good sign; but it warns us to be cautious as there are presumably many others, too. There was no paper in the world which did not comment that the composition of Shultz' entourage in Geneva, the U.S. delegation to the talks, reflected this idea. Let us therefore be happy that a Soviet-U.S. agreement was reached atall; but it is worth pondering, as did Moscow IZVESTIYA, that if on Sunday there were publicly acknowledged, fundamental differences of principle in the positions of the two sides, why the U.S. side, following the Monday and Tuesday talks, accepted the elements of the joint communique on the renewal of dialogue which contradict their previously published position.

Let us be fair. One of the difficult subjects of the negotiations on preparing talks was whether to handle the complex issue of space armament and strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons in a uniform package or separately. The conception of the Soviet side was that space armament belonged in a uniform package, whereas the U.S. side would have preferred to deal with it separately, which is no mere coincidence considering the "star wars" program.

Further in the Right Direction!

The final agreement is that there will be a uniform package. Thus the each side will delegate to the coming negotiations one delegation which includes three working groups. What already gives reason here for caution is that the U.S. leading experts, swarming out from Geneva to Western capitals to brief the allied leaders, have made statements which at first sight appear to be a "relaxation" of the agreement: for instance, State Department official Richard Burt's Brussels declaration that "the three designated areas are interrelated but not necessarily," or disarmament advisor Paul Nitze's reference at a press conference in Bonn to the possibility of synchronized "partial agreements."

This calls for several comments. The first is that in principle the United States is sticking to its space armament program, as pointed out by official U.S. statements this week. The second is that, because of this, the talks agreed upon in Geneva which will consider the abovementioned three areas in their organic interrelationship may drag on for years, as pointed out by officials quoted by REUTER. Last but not least, the CPSU Politburo has cautioned from Moscow this week that: "Progress in stopping the arms race, in the removal of the threat of a nuclear war, and ultimately in the elimination of nuclear weapons can realistically be achieved only if the agreements achieved at the coming talks are strictly adhered to."

Taking all this as a whole, if the feeling of relief is not enough in itself, let us nevertheless appreciate this first step in Geneva on its merit, because in order to start on a road there must always be a beginning. "The Soviet Union" declared Andrey Gromyko prior to his return home, "is ready to cover its share of the road. I would like to express my hope that the United States will act similarly, that is that in the full awareness of the responsibility of the two great powers, it will cover its share of the road, too."

And we hope that it will do this in the right direction, so long expected by a worried mankind.

Gromyko Remarks Viewed

AU151432 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Jan 85 pp 1-2

[Article by correspondent Istvan Zalai: "The Prevention of Space Armament Is the Fundamental Prerequisite of Disarmament -- Andrey Gromyko's Interview on Soviet Television"]

[Text] The Soviet Union is struggling with all its power to avoid the nuclear danger threatening humanity, and evaluating the Geneva talks as generally favorable, it wishes the coming Soviet-U.S. negotiations on the decisive issues of arms limitation to lead to mutually acceptable agreements. This was said by Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister, on Moscow television on 13 January.

In the course of an almost 1 and 3/4 hour studio discussion, four well-known Soviet journalists -- Yuriy Zhukov, from PRAVDA; Viktor Matveyev, from IZVESTIYA; Vladimir Bogachev, from TASS, and Valentin Zorin, from television -- asked Gromyko questions mainly on Geneva and disarmament.

Gromyko evaluated the foreign ministerial meeting in Geneva as favorable on the whole, stressing that the Soviet-U.S. communique speaks for itself. He regarded as very important the agreement on the aims and subject of the negotiations.

Gromyko termed the acceptable, totally new approach -- namely that space and nuclear armament will be analyzed in their interrelationship -- as suitable to reality, and pointed out that the most important thing is that we are talking about a uniform circle of issues. If one is striving to halt the arms race, the arms race must not start in space and should cease on earth. Besides, speaking about Geneva, he also pointed out: The talks were not easy; sometimes they were very complex and tense, although we did not, of course, bang our fist on the table. The Soviet foreign minister recalled that for a long time the U.S. side did not wish to include the prevention of space armament in the talks. This, however, was completely unacceptable to the Soviet Union, and finally the U.S. side gave it up.

Answering a question, he also stressed that the coming negotiations will be completely new ones, and on the U.S. side Secretary of State Shultz personally agreed on this. As Gromyko said, the Soviet side also proposed the structure of the new negotiations, which is logically suitable to the principle of a comprehensive approach. Within one delegation, three working groups will deal with three different subjects: space armament, strategic, and intermediate-range nuclear weapons; but of course it will be unavoidable, because of interrelations, to analyze the issues in their uniformity. This solution has its advantages but can bring complications, too. In spite of everything, if there is will and desire, it is possible to find solutions. The Soviet foreign minister also stressed that in these negotiations, the Soviet side will take into complete consideration the security interests of the socialist alliance; this follows from a uniform, principled policy.

As far as the chances are concerned, he said that even if a hundred wise men got together, they would be unable to answer this question. Moscow wants the negotiations to be genuine, to have genuine regard for the goals set out in Geneva, and that no one should wish to violate the principle of equality and equal security. It also wants these negotiations to lead to mutually acceptable solutions in all three subjects. At the same time he also stressed that if the United States violates the agreement urging the prevention of space armament, it would lead to most serious consequences: the breaking-off of negotiations. He warned the U.S. representatives: There is no middle way; either we deal seriously with space and not allow the arms race to spread to space, or there will be an arms race.

As to why the Soviet Union regards the avoiding of space armament an issue of key importance, Gromyko declared: Even if we succeeded in achieving an agreement on the issue of strategic and intermediate-range nuclear means, space armament could render all this obsolete and bring about an even more dangerous situation on earth. We mentioned this extremely pointedly in Geneva. Many questions were asked in connection with the fact that the U.S. side now says that the so-called space defense system research must be continued even if testing and deployment of such systems is banned. They claim that it is impossible to control research. Gromyko pointed out in his answer: Why is this necessary when an agreement has now emerged concerning a need to strive for the total elimination of nuclear weapons; and besides, who can guarantee that work will stop with the conclusion of research. The Soviet foreign minister stressed that it is impossible to advance toward the aims formulated in Geneva if agreement is not reached simultaneously in all three related subject areas. He drew attention to the fact that an agreement on preventing space armament would open up much more favorable prospects than there have been up till now for a agreement on strategic weapons, and in this area the Soviet Union is ready for large-scale reductions. If, however, there is no agreement on space, it is useless to speak about the possibility of reduction of strategic weapons.

Gromyko mentioned that the SALT I agreement continues to be in force and Moscow is ready to adhere to it in the future, too. Concerning the SALT II agreement signed by Brezhnev and Carter, although the U.S. side refused to ratify it and several elements ceased with the passing of time, there is till agreement that there is a need to continue to assert everything connected with this agreement that is favorable.

Referring to intermediate-range nuclear means, Gromyko said that the continued deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe could bring into question the negotiations on the start of which they agreed in Geneva. This was said unequivocally to the U.S. side in Geneva. The Soviet Union, Gromyko added, proposed a freeze on all nuclear means. He recalled here that there was no change in the U.S. position, they continue not to wish to include the British and French nuclear means in the negotiations. Moscow did not propose that they be eliminated, only that they be taken into consideration, that is, if they remain, the U.S. nuclear force must be reduced by a suitable number instead. He called the number of U.S. aircraft carriers deployed in waters close to Europe as an extremely important issue, too.

As far as supervision is concerned, Gromyko stressed that the Soviet proposal made long ago is well known to the U.S. side. At the same time he pointed out that the Soviet Union has been and is adhering to all bilateral and multilateral responsibilities taken upon itself in agreements.

The question was asked of whether there is any guarantee that Washington will not use the new negotiations to conceal its efforts to achieve military superiority, and will these negotiations not lead to a deadlock again. Gromyko stressed in this connection: I do not know who could guarantee that the U.S. attitude will always be constructive. We know, however, that the interests of peace, of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the entire world demand that we achieve the necessary agreements. Touching upon this circle of questions, Gromyko also spoke of the U.S. space defense plan which he called unequivocally aggressive and aiming to attain superiority. The Soviet foreign minister stressed: The basis for negotiations and agreements is the principle of equality and equal security. Those who believe that the United States can, one way or another, dictate its conditions are wrong. As Konstantin Chernenko pointed out in his letter to President Reagan, such a situation is out of question; the Soviet Union will not allow this to happen. It has enough strength to guarantee its own security and that of its allies.

Gromyko was also asked about Soviet-U.S. relations as a whole, which he called inadequate. He mentioned that quite a few of the previously signed agreements practically ceased to exist after the U.S. Administrations of recent years strove for this. There is no genuine movement as yet, said Gromyko. At the same time he stressed that if mutually acceptable agreements emerge at the new negotiations, they would greatly enhance the improvement of bilateral relations and would favorably influence the international situation.

Summing up, the Soviet foreign minister called the current world situation very complex, at times dangerous, and said that unexpected developments can also occur. There is a need for alertness. He stressed that the Soviet Union is doing its utmost to preserve peace and is working towards this end. In order for the struggle toprevent the danger of war to become even more successful, there is need for every state, small or large, to take an even more active stand. It is true that the cause of peace depends mainly on the big powers, but it is not only them that have to fight this battle; all the states, even the smallest ones must take a stand for peace. It is our conviction that the forces taking a stand in favor of peace are greater than the forces of war and the arms race, declared Gromyko.

NEPSZABADSAG VIEWS MANPOWER FLOW PROBLEM

LD111303 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 11 Jan 85

[From the press review]

[Text] Annually 1 million jobs are changed in Hungary, and although the migrating bird is now more protected against the arrow of the critics, experts are not happy about the direction of the migration during the last 10 years. The efficient enterprises do not get more staff and the situation has not changed in which, along with the dearth of manpower, the economy needs more and more people because it spends little on automation and/or technologies demanding little live labor. However, NEPSZABADSAG writes in its morning edition, there are few countries in the world where, like in Hungary, half of the population works.

It is true that at the same time enterprises shy away from dismissing spare manpower because generally they have to find a new job for the dismissed, despite the principle that the maintenance of full employment is the task of the state organs. It is characteristic that in Budapest in 1984, 5 major enterprises reduced their number of employed only by 80, that is, they moved to other job areas. It is also a strong contradiction that the better organized economic work collectives, which in theory demand fewer workers, in the final analysis helped maintain the lack of achievement and organization of normal working hours, despite the fact that one of the bases of the 1985 plan is to increase staff-level fluctuation because the cost of manpower is rising and incomes are becoming more imbalanced.

There are open questions by the dozen, NEPSZABADSAG writes. We say that workers should move into the more efficient plants; but will there be a place for them there? Will the enterprises which are unprofitable, but which produce important goods, not get into an impossible situation as a result of manpower shortages? And on this basis, will the incomes really be differentiated so that manpower migration can become healthy, if in fact these incomes are determined precisely by the unhealthy manpower migration?

BOOKLET ON ECONOMIC MACROMANAGEMENT PUBLISHED

AU142031 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jan 85 p 7

[Text] An important booklet entitled "Economic Macromanagement 1985" has been published recently under the auspices of the Economic and Legal Publishing House. In addition to information on changes in regulations, readers also receive precise background information, and all this first hand, from those who authored the regulations. To name but a few from the list of authors worth considering: Lajos Faluvegi, deputy premier, chairman of the National Planning Office, wrote the introduction. The volume was edited by Miklos Pulai, deputy chairman of the National Planning Office; and Ferenc Vissi, deputy chairman of the National Material and Price Office. Akos Balassa writes about planning, Laszlo Racz on the price system, and Istvan Kollarik about the enterprise income regulations -- everything that both experts and interested persons should now know. In addition to this, of course, all the essential new developments can be traced in the booklet.

PAP VIEWS GROMYKO COMMENTS, U.S. RESPONSE

LD151218 Warsaw PAP in English 1119 GMT 15 Jan 85

[By PAP commentator]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 14 -- It was with utmost interest and great hope that the Polish public opinion received the exhaustive statements made by the Soviet foreign minister, one of the most outstanding experts and co-architects of international relations in the second half of the 20th century, Andrey Gomyko, who outlined the prospects for the Soviet-American negotiations on key issues facing humanity: effective arrest of the arms race and elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

Polish television interrupted its regular programmes for nearly two hours last Sunday, January 13, to re-lay from the Soviet televion the broadcast which was simultaneously telecast worldwide. Leading Polish newspapers on Monday frontpaged the full text of Andrey Gromyko's conversation with four prominent Soviet political commentators. The statements made by the Soviet statesman were the more important that they were published after a CPSU Political Bureau session on the Geneva meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Andrey Gomyko is one of the longest-serving members of this bureau.

The head of the Soviet diplomacy made a positive appraisal of the Geneva meeting. In this context he underscored inseparability of the disarmament issues, both in the sphere of strategic armaments and inter-mediate nuclear arms, and prevention of outer space militarisation.

Andrey Gromyko, who had been Soviet delegate to the first conferences of the anti-fascist coalition which set the ground for the United Nations Organisation at the end of World War Two and who later took part in forwarding all the key Soviet peace initiatives, demonstrated the highest competence in dispelling a number of myths. One of them was the thesis disseminated by the Western propaganda that the Soviet Union was not allegedly paying appropriate attention to the problem of arms control.

For us, the Polish people, of special importance is the statement that the Soviet Union approaches the Western countries and the U.S. on its own behalf as well as on behalf of its allies and that this reinforces the common policy of peace pursued by the fraternal socialist contries.

These questions are systematically discussed during sessions of the Political Consultative Committee and other Warsaw Treaty organs. The political line fixed during those meetings also takes into account our national and ideological strivings and aspirations as well as guaranteeing our security.

The prospects for the negotiations which are most important for humanity depend on the stand taken by the American side. The first reactions to Andrey Gromyko's statements testify to differences inside the U.S. Administration. The differences showed between George Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. The latter said on Sunday he did not known anything about any agreement reached in Geneva that would link the negotiations to three spheres of disarmament. As a model representative of the military-industrial complex, he stressed once more that the U.S. was not considering the idea of dropping its research into space weapons.

Despite all this, we hope that common sense will emerge victorious over the interests of the group of arms producers, in line with the will of humanity.

MSW EMPLOYEES, OTHERS TESTIFY IN TORUN TRIAL

LD160722 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2055 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] On the 12th day of the Torun trial the court began examination of the evidence. The first of five witnesses who are employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] to testify today was driver Miroslaw W. On 19 October 1984 he was the one from whom defendant Piotrowski collected the pass which freed him from traffic checks. The witness testified that he conveyed this information, on that same day, to defendant Pietruszka while they were driving. The witness was unable to describe to the court how his former superior reacted to this information.

Witness Boleslaw S. spoke about the circumstances in which, on the night of 22 October, the former deputy director of the department, Adam Pietruszka, examined the Fiat 125P in which the priest was abducted. Similar testimony was provided by the next witness, Andrzej R., who is in charge of garage parking. Driver Wojciech K. spoke about the fate on 19 October of the travel permit to Bydgoszcz signed by Adam Pietruszka. According to this testimony and the testimony of the next witness, Jozef M., this document, which was handed over to the driver by defendant Piotrowski, was conveyed to the director of the department General P. on 28 October.

The last to testify were Father Bogdan L. and Seweryn J. Witness Seweryn J., steelworker by profession, presented his version of the events of 13 October on the Gdansk-Warsaw route. He admitted that after the kidnapping of Father Popieluszko, he publicly gave foreign journalists information about the fate of the priest without being sure of its truth. The prosecutor described this behavior as hampering the investigation and described how Seweryn J. avoided the summons to the office of the prosecutor, in connection with which he was given administrative punishment.

The trial continues tomorrow.

Seweryn J. Speaks

LD160657 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Excerpts] We now broadcast a report from trial in the case of the abduction and murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] We begin our report with a brief explanation from the Ministry of Justice press spokesman, Judge (Andrzej Czubala). It concerns certain formal measures which are in effect with the audio portion of our reports as of this moment. They concern, for instance, providing certain names in abbreviated form.

[Czubala] The Torun court today entered a new stage of evidential proceedings. Up to now explanations were made by defendants, whose names were made public with the consent of the court and the prior consent of the prosecutor. Today the court will begin to interrogate the witnesses. The press law which has been in force for several months does not allow the publication of personal details -- the names or likenesses -- of witnesses and injured parties, except in cases where these persons agree to this. However, the press law does not protect the voices of these persons, which can be broadcast without reservations. The matter also arises of naming other persons during the trial. For example, General Platek or church dignitaries.

Here it can be stated that these names have been mentioned by the defendants, and that the Torun trial is being conducted publicly, that is, openly. Thus, that which occurs in a public trial, what is said by the defendants and which does not affect the private lives of third persons, cannot be kept secret from listeners. May I permit myself one additional remark. Waldemar Chrostowski is indeed a witness, but he is voluntarily a party in the trial, since he announced his participation as an auxiliary prosecutor. This allows public identification of him.

[Unidentified reporter] The witness Seweryn J. was the next to give evidence.

[Question] I think that on 13 October you were traveling to Gdansk with Father Popieluszko?

[J.] That's right. And I returned from Gdansk.

[Question] And back as well?

[J.] That's right.

[Question] Who was driving the car?

[J.] Waldemar Chrostowski was driving.

[Question] In other words, a total of how many people were in the car?

[J.] Three people.

[Question] Three people. And where were you sitting in the car?

[J.] Next to the driver, that's where I was sitting.

[Question] Did anything out of the ordinary happen during the journey?

[J.] Yes.

[Question] What precisely?

[J.] About halfway -- I can't remember the spot -- I suddenly noticed since I was dozing in the front seat, that the car suddenly turned without any warning. I opened my eyes and noticed in front of the car a man waving his arms energetically up and down with his fist up.

[Question] Well, you continued in the car.

[J.] That's right.

[Question] Was this discussed inside the car?

[J.] Yes, comments were made [words indistinct].

[Question] And then everyone woke up?

[J.] I can't say for Father Jerzy, but as for Chrostowski, he even planned to go back. He told me that perhaps we should go back. I said no, let's go on. I myself thought this might be some drunk who wanted to stop the car to get a lift, quite simply.

[Question] Has the witness received administrative punishment for anything (?during these proceedings)? In particular, did he pay any fine?

[J.] [word indistinct]

[Question] Was the witness not fined for staying away from the voivodship prosecutor's office in Warsaw without any justification?

[J.] Yes, I was fined, but my absence was not without justification because I produced a doctor's note.

[Question] I understand. Did the witness pay the fine?

[J.] The fine was paid.

[Question] Did the witness, after the disappearance of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, give any interviews or comment on it.

[J.] I made public all information that came my way and which I thought might lead to saving Father Jerzy. If there was a possibility that the information was true, then of course I ought to have...

[Question interrupting] There is a strange (?divergence) between the information that the witness disseminated in this matter and the information disseminated by the defendants.

[Unidentified speaker] The witness has stated here that he was punished with a fine (?to force him to appear) because he was ill. I have submitted to the esteemed court documents from which it emerges that he was fined not because he was ill but because he was hindering criminal proceedings.

[Unidentified reporter] The hearing ended after 1800 hours. It continues tomorrow at 0900.

URBAN CONDEMNS RADIO FREE EUROPE BROADCAST

LD151533 Warsaw PAP in English 1409 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 15 -- addressing his weekly conference for foreign journalists accredited here, Polish Government Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban today harshly criticised the broadcasts of the U.S.-Government-financed Radio "Free Europe", terming them as "propaganda gangstermism".

He said "Free Europe" broadcasts have always been marked by propaganda aggression, and used lies and slander as a tool. "But on Jan 7, the U.S. 'Free Europe' station broadcast a programme that calls for a harsher qualification," he said. "It was outright propaganda gangsterism."

"The Free Europe announced it was broadcasting Adolf Hitler's address to an NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party] Parteitag in Nueremberg, 1939, dedicating it to (Polish leader) Gen Jaruzelski. The intention was to suggest that in his speeches, Gen Jaruzelski says the same things Hitler did, and that he is like Hitler as a politician," Urban said.

"The U.S. Govt.-supervised and run radio, financed with U.S. state funds, has committed the gravest possible insult against head of a government with whom the U.S. has diplomatic relations.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1800 GMT on 15 January adds: "The American Government station's broadcasting of the program constitutes an unfriendly act towards Poland and the Polish people. This is an act of ingratitude towards a former ally in the struggle against Hitlerism"]

"It was an insult against a Polish Army officer who spilled his blood fighting against Nazism. It is good to remind Radio Free Europe sponsors, that (in World War Two) Gen. Jaruzelski fought in the ranks of the Polish Army, at that time allied also to America," Urban said.

Stating that Hitler's address is a fabrication masterminded by Radio Free Europe so that it can show similarities to Polish party utterances, Jerzy Urban said that no Parteitag had taken place in 1939.

"Already the fact itself of comparing the criminal, Nazi NSDAP Party with the PUWP, which grew out of the struggle waged against Nazism and which lost thousands of its members in that struggle, is particularly insulting for the PUWP and the Polish nation as a whole," Urban declared.

"The broadcasting of that programme by the U.S.-sponsored radio station is an act hostile to Poland and the Polish nation. This indicates ingratitude towards one-time ally in the struggle against Nazism."

"The U.S. Government declares willingness to improve Polish-American relations. The propaganda banditry by the U.S. Government-sponsored agency which Radio Free Europe is, clearly undermines those intentions," Minister Urban said.

"We demand explanations from the U.S. Government as to what political intentions of its own are being expressed by such hostile programmes, insulting Poland and untruthful, beamed by the American Polish-language radio stations."

"The contents of American programmes broadcast to Poland constitutes an immiment part of Polish-American relations, and until a tame is put to insults and propaganda aggression, declarations by the U.S. Government about its will to improve relations will not win credibility among Polish public opinion," Jerzy Urban stressed.

Next Minister Urban answered questions. Asked why the date of the debate of the advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states was put off, Minister Urban declared that he had nothing to add to today's communique concerning this subject.

Asked whether Father Zych, sentenced for the accomplicity in the killing of Militia Sergeant Karos, was transported to a monastery, according to statements made by one of the accused during the trial in Torun, Minister Urban said that Father Zych was in jail, that he was still a priest and that jail authorities made it possible for him to perform priestly duties.

Answering a question whether the Polish Government was still of the opinion that the killing of Father Jerzy Popieluszko was a political provocation in the light of the hitherto evidence given by the accused, Minister Urban said that he could only say that the statement of the Polish Government about a political provocation was still binding.

Minister Urban was also asked whether a big number of articles concerning church affairs which have been published recently by the Polish press might be considered as a campaign against the church. He said that various things are being published about the church, including good and bad ones, but that he did not notice any campaign against the church in Poland.

Simply, issues concerning church affairs had been published more widely recently. However, Minister Urban added that numerous actions of priests against the socio-political system in Poland have been reported.

Answering another question Minister Urban assessed the number of listeners of the Polish radio coverages of the Torun trial and said that it was quite big.

Asked by a LOS ANGELES TIMES correspondent whether there were any developments in the Polish-U.S. relations recently which they should be aware of, and whether anything changed in the exchange of ambassadors, Minister Urban said: "I think the Radio Free Europe programme I was speaking about at the beginning was exactly the political event you should know about."

40 YEARS OF RELATIONS WITH USSR HAILED

Olszowski Speaks

AU151502 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Jan 85 pp 1, 7

["Speech" by Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski at the 11 January Warsaw function to commemorate the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations with the USSR]

[Text] S. Olszowski stressed that 4 January 1945 was a momentous day in the rich history of Polish-Soviet relations and opened up a new stage in these relations. As time went by, the important act of establishing diplomatic relations between Poland, which had just begun its socialist development, and the first socialist state in the world, continued to acquire an increasing historical significance. After 40 years the significance of this act is becoming increasingly obvious for our two fraternal countries, for the irreversible changes in Europe, and for peace and socialism.

Poland's liberation by the heroic Soviet Army and by the Polish People's Armed Forces fighting at the side of the Soviet Army was a turning point in the history of our peoples. In this way the century-old efforts to establish fraternal friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between our two peoples in accordance with their most vital interests were accomplished.

Thanks to the Polish-Soviet alliance born during the struggle against German fascism and thanks to the consistent defense by the USSR of Polish interests at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, Poland was reborn within historically just borders as an independent and sovereign state.

In the face of tension in the international arena, S. Olszowski continued, the significance of our alliance and of the unity of the socialist states has greatly increased.

This is so because of the nature of the threats posed for international peace and security by the policy of strength pursued by world imperialism, which is seeking to achieve military superiority, impose its will on the world, exploit political and economic pressure in order to interfere in the internal affairs of countries, promote daily ideological subversion and propaganda aggression against the countries and peoples of real socialism, and invigorate revisionist and revanchist forces.

Against these actions we pit the might and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact, which have been intensified by cooperation within CEMA, as well as our allied backing for USSR policy and coordinated cooperation in the international area.

The diplomacy of the Soviet Union, which for almost 70 years has continued to implement the principles of Leninist foreign policy with extraordinary integrity, consistency, and commitment, has a special role to play in preserving world peace, ensuring security for the socialist community, and safeguarding mankind against thermonuclear annihilation.

The complicated and difficult problems of the present world have called and continue to call for constant efforts on the part of the socialist countries to ensure that these problems are settled equitably and realistically. The recent Soviet-American talks in Geneva and the results achieved there are regarded by nations as an important affirmation of the Soviet readiness to continue constructive talks with the United States and have been interpreted as a real opportunity to make progress in reducing tensions resulting from the further escalation of armaments, especially those in space.

This opportunity may be exploited only if the United States abandons the idea of achieving military superiority over the USSR.

S. Olszowski noted that the Warsaw Pact plays a decisive role in ensuring effective defense of the socialist achievements of our peoples and in preserving peace in Europe and the world. We are unanimous as to the necessity to strengthen our political-defense alliance, which has effectively fulfilled and continues to fulfill its tasks in the almost 30 years of its existence.

Evaluating Polish-Soviet relations, S. Olszowski stressed that their distinctive feature is a very militant cooperation in all spheres. The results of the visit paid by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Moscow on 4-5 May 1984 are outstanding proof of the enormous importance that Poland and the USSR attach to the development of comprehensive cooperation. His talks with Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU general secretary and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the long-term program, signed as a result of these talks, for the development of Polish-Soviet economic and scientific-technological cooperation up to the year 2000, will for a long time enrich anew the programs for our cooperation and will set new goals for them.

The implementation of the tasks resulting from the decisions made at that time is progressing consistently as signally attested to by the recent visit to our country of a delegation of Soviet scientists and technologists led by Deputy Premier G. Marchuk.

The bonds of alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR occupy the highest position in Polish foreign policy on the bilateral level and are a crucial element in strengthening the political, defense, and economic integration of the socialist community, S. Olszowski said. These bonds are also important for Europe as a significant and lasting element of the postwar political-territorial order on the continent.

Precisely with the help of its alliance with the USSR, socialist Poland is able not only to solve the complicated problems of its development, but also to make a positive and worthy contribution to international politics, S. Olszowski said in conclusion.

Leaders Exchange Messages

LD042018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 85

[Text] Forty years ago, on 4 January 1945, diplomatic relations between the provisional government of the Polish Republic and the Government of the USSR were established.

To mark this occasion, messages were exchanged between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski, and Konstantin Chernenko and Nikolay Tikhonov, in which the leaders of both states and nations conveyed the most cordial greetings and best wishes.

It is pointed out in the telegrams that establishing diplomatic relations opened a new phase in mutual Polish-Soviet contacts and created the basis for the signing, a few months later, of an agreement on friendship, mutual help, and cooperation between Poland and the USSR.

It is also emphasized in the telegrams that the significant act of establishing diplomatic relations was compatible with the fundamental interests of the Soviet and Polish nations. The establishment of truly friendly relations between the USSR and Poland was made possible thanks to the determined choice of socialism made by the Polish working people.

USSR'S GRISHIN ARRIVES FOR LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

LD151924 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Within 2 days we will be celebrating the 40th anniversary of Warsaw's liberation. In accordance with tradition, war veterans are arriving in Warsaw. Also invited are delegations from the capitals of the fraternal socialist states. The first to arrive was the Soviet delegation headed by Viktor Grishin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Moscow Gorkum first secretary. The delegation was welcomed at Warsaw Okecie Airport by Warsaw administrators and Marian Wozniak, Politburo member and Warsaw party committee first secretary. Also present was Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Aksenov. Delegations from Budapest headed by Gabor Borbely, from Sofia headed by (?Dyulgerov) Vulchev, and from Bucharest led by Dumitru Necsoiu have also arrived.

MALINOWSKI DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO NICARAGUA

LD151257 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Managua -- A Polish special mission led by Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski has ended its visit to Nicaragua. Our delegation visited Nicaragua by special invitation on the occasion of President Daniel Ortega and Deputy President Sergio Ramirez taking up their duties, the new government being sworn in, and the National Assembly being formed.

FOREIGN TRADE OFFICIAL ON GRAIN, MEAT IMPORTS

LD151450 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] I now invite you to listen to a conversation with Wladyslaw Szczepankowski from the Ministry of Foreign Trade. He has been invited to our studio by Anna Andrzewska.

[Begin recording] [Andrzewska] What food products do we need to import this year? I suggest that we begin with grain.

[Szczepankowski] This year we expect the amount of grain imports to be similar to those of last year. Here we are talking mainly about wheat. Wheat imports will total approximately 1.8 million tons, but the total amount of grain we are going to purchase in 1985 will be approximately 2.8 million tons, as last year; well, perhaps 3 million tons. It will depend on a crop about which we will know in the harvest period.

[Andrzewska] And that is imported from both socialist and Western countries.

[Szczepankowski] Yes. We will purchase about 800,000 tons of wheat from socialist countries, and about 1 million tons from Western countries.

[Andrzewska] What about corn and rice?

[Szczepankowski] We will purchase about 80,000 tons of rice, mainly from the PRC, Soviet Union, Egypt, Pakistan, Thailand, and partly from Yugoslavia. As far as corn is concerned, we will purchase about 500,000 tons, mainly for feed. Deliveries are chiefly from Romania, Yugoslavia, and partly from Western countries.

[Andrzewska] As far as fats are concerned we will import only oil.

[Szczepankowski] We import soya oil, palm oil, sunflower oil, partly fish oil, and even tung oil. Of course, less known, less popular oils are used as components for vegetable oil.

[Andrzewska] And now, a matter of utmost importance: meat imports.

[Szczepankowski] So far in the current year we envisage smaller imports of meat than last year. All in all, last year we imported over 125,000 tons of meat. We have already begun contracting, and first deliveries are expected in January, February, and March. It will be about 10,000 tons.

[Andrzewska] What will be the total quantity of imported meat, and where will it be imported from?

[Szczepankowski] It is difficult to say what a final quantity will be; I think that it will be several tens of thousands of tons.

[Andrzewska] How do we pay for this food?

[Szczepankowski] Unfortunately, mostly with immediate cash. Sadly, there are no more credits. Besides cash, we try to pay for some imported goods with our goods. We import wheat from the Soviet Union in exchange for deliveries of Polish rye. A contract was recently concluded for import of meat from the FRG in exchange for delivery of 80,000 tons of rye. [end recording]

PZPR VOIVODSHIP COMMITTEE PLENUM REPORTED

LD112124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Jan 85

[Text] The tasks for party echelons and organizations in the electoral campaign were the subject of the Skierniewice Voivodship PZPR Committee. Tadeusz Porebski took part in the debate. The plenum dismissed Janusz Kubasiewicz from the position of voivodship committee first secretary in connection with his appointment as head of the Administration Department of the PZPR Central Committee. Franciszek Wirski, formerly voivodship committee secretary for administrative affairs, was appointed first secretary of the voivodship committee.

LUMEA VIEWS GROMYKO-SHULTZ ARMS CONTROL TALKS

AU151534 [Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA No 2 of 10 January 1985 carries on page 6 and 7 a 1,200-word article by Neagu Udroiu titled "New Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Weapons" which deals with the talks held between U.S. Secretary of State Shultz and USSR Foreign Minister Gromyko on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva on 7 and 8 January. After reporting the statements made by Gromyko and Shultz on their arrival in Geneva, on the international press treatment of this event, and on Nicolae Ceausescu stressing that "everything must be done in 1985 to halt the dangerous development of events," and to ensure "resumption of the policy of detente and of peacefully resolving all problems," the author stresses:

"Under normal circumstances the meeting between the Soviet minister of foreign affairs and the U.S. secretary of state would have had a particular impact on bilateral relations; however, it now has a different significance proceeding from the need and real possibility to favorably change the political atmosphere and to reopen the doors to negotiation. The view that precious time has been wasted is unanimous. Due to the lack of efforts at the negotiating table, arms have continued to be stockpiled and research workers are, unfortunately, called upon to continue to seek possibilities to perfect means of destruction. There is the threat that competition in nuclear weapons, which already exist on the ground, sea and in the air, will extend into space. While the way the two sides are dealing with the most pressing problems is different at this point, it has once again been demonstrated that when there is a political will, areas can be identified that will lead in the direction of discussions and of clarifying divergent and inconvenient points."

The author then presents a factual report on the joint Soviet-American statement issued at the end of the Geneva arms talks.

REPAIR WORK UNDERWAY AT POWER STATIONS

AU152026 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/1/1985 -- The main concern of the people working in the field of power generation in Romania is to overcome the soonest the difficulties created by very hard winter and to provide the electric power needed to keep production running. Work is done at the Rovinari, Turceni, Isalnita and Oradea thermoelectric stations in order to put back into operation certain generators. Hydrocarbon-fired generators of the Braila, Borzesti and Brazi stations have been connected to the national grid. Sustained efforts are also made in the Mures County. The 13 large turbogenerators of the local "Electrocentrale" Enterprise as well as the auxiliary equipment are running nonstop. The staff of the "Electrocentrale" Enterprise of Oradea have generated 20 MW in excess of the plan owing to a rational use of boilers and other installations.

COAL MINES SAID FULFILLING PLAN DESPITE COLD

AU151251 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1153 GMT 14 Jan 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 15/1/1985 -- A very severe winter has posed difficulties to the coal industry, to open-cast mines and coal pits in particular. Sustained efforts are made to supply coal to thermoelectric plants and other end-users. Actions are undertaken to normalize work processes under the guidance of special teams set up in each mine, enterprise and combine. Underground miners do their utmost to make up for the arrears registered in coal pits.

The collectivity of the Voivozi mining enterprise, for instance, have extracted more than 10,000 tons of coal above plan provisions since the beginning of the year. In their turn, miners in Comanesti top plan provisions by 600-700 tons of coal each day. Coal extraction in the whole Jiu Valley basin is maintained within planned limits or close to the levels envisaged; several units in the respective basin constantly top plan tasks. In the coal basin of Salaj, round-the-clock activities are carried on and plan provisions are overfulfilled 20 per cent a day on an average. The coal basins of Oltenia and Banat boast equally outstanding results. Miners in Romania prove heroism in their work exemplarily meeting the fuel coal and raw materials requirements of the national economy.

CSSR DEPUTY PREMIER DISCUSSES S&T COOPERATION

Obzina, Ursu Open Talks

LD142317 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Jan 85

[Text] Jaromir Obzina, Czechoslovak deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technological and Investment Development, and Ion Ursu, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology of Romania, opened talks in Bucharest today on the development of cooperation of the two countries in science and technology. They also exchanged experience on the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 13th RCP Congress in this sphere.

Meets With Elena Ceausescu

AU151953 Bucharest ACERPRES in English 1915 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/1/1985 -- On January 15 Academician Elena Ceausescu, D. Sc, first deputy prime minister of Romania, chairwoman of the National Council of Science and Technology, received Professor Jaromir Obzina D. [as received], deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia, chairman of the Technical, Scientific and Investment Commission, now on a Romanian visit, at Predeal. The call occasioned an exchange of messages between Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak. Professor Jaromir Obzina, said that he was highly honored to convey RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, a warm salute and best wishes on behalf of Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Thanking, Elena Ceausescu asked that on behalf of the head of the RCP and Romanian state, Nicolae Ceausescu and on her own behalf a warm salute and best wishes be conveyed to Gustav Husak, to the CC of the CPC, and to the friendly Czechoslovak people.

During the interview, that proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of friendship, the sides highlighted essential aspects of the activity carried out in the two countries in science and technology. They presented the fundamental targets of research in Romania and Czechoslovakia, pointing out the special contribution science is making to the development of priority branches of the two countries' national economies and to achieving a new quality of work and life.

The sides highlighted with satisfaction the ascending course of the collaboration between scientists of Romania and Czechoslovakia that falls within the multilateral relations between the two countries and peoples. Highlighting the fruitful results of this collaboration in various domains of activity, the sides noted that the results and experience acquired created fresh possibilities to deepen the Romanian-Czechoslovak technical and scientific cooperation in view of contributing to implementing the economic and social programmes of the two countries.

The sides expressed the will to diversify their bilateral cooperation in important economic sectors, in research, development and promotion of the technical progress in the two countries, considering this to serve the interests of the two peoples, of the general cause of peace and understanding among nations.

Professor Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council of Science and Technology, attended.

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH PAKISTAN IN ISLAMABAD

AU111616 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1520 GMT 11 Jan 85

[Text] Islamabad, AGERPRES 11/1/1985 -- Messages were exchanged between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Ziaul Haq during the call paid on the Pakistani president, at Rawalpindi, by Ion M. Nicolae, Romanian deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the Joint Governmental Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation, convened in Pakistan for its tenth session.

Satisfaction was expressed during the interview for the development of close friendship and cooperative ties between the two countries, and the joint wish was highlighted to work for the further expansion and diversification of these relations, particularly on the economic plane, in the spirit of the Bucharest and Islamabad summit talks and understandings.

Over January 8-10 1985, Islamabad venued the proceedings of the tenth session of the joint Romanian-Pakistani Governmental Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation. A protocol was signed highlighting the development prospects of the two countries' economic relations, particularly in oil exploration and exploitation, the development of the chemical and construction materials industries, of agriculture, as well as in other fields of mutual interest. The document identified further means apt to boost bilateral trade on mutually advantageous bases.

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO ORTEGA ON INAUGURATION

AU141925 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Jan 85 p 3

[Text] To Comrade Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua, Managua:

On the occassion of your investiture to the office of president of the Republic of Nicaragua, on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, I take pleasure in conveying to you cordial greetings and best wishes for health and success in fulfilling the function of high responsibility with which you have been invested.

Reasserting our solidarity with the friendly Nicaraguan people, and with their struggle to fulfill the ideals of a free and independent development without any outside interference, I express my belief that the relations of cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Nicaragaua will further develop in the interest of our peoples, of peace, and cooperation throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

PLANINC-LED FEC DELEGATION VISITS FRANCE

LD151612 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 Jan (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], left this afternoon for an official, friendly visit to France at the invitation of French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius. Spasoje Medenica, FEC member, and Budimir Loncar, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs, left for France with her. At Belgrade airport FEC President Milka Planinc was seen off by Dr Mijat Sukovic, FEC vice president, Raif Dizdarevic, member of the FEC and federal secretary of foreign affairs; Zoran Miskovic, general secretary of the FEC; and Jean-Michel Gaussot, charge d'affaires of the French Embassy in Belgrade.

Agenda Reviewed

LD160956 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0215 GMT 16 Jan 85

[Text] Paris, January 16 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc who last night arrived on a three-day official and friendly visit to France will talk today with her host, French Premier Laurent Fabius. The French premier will give a luncheon in honour of the Yugoslav premier. Milka Planinc will be received by President Mitterrand tomorrow in the Elysee Palace. On the first day of her visit to France Milka Planinc will also talk with other high-ranking French officials.

While in Paris the Yugoslav premier will visit the OECD headquarters and talk with Secretary-General Claude Paya. She will also meet with representatives of the National Confederation of Employers (CNPF).

Milka Planinc's talks with the French premier and other prominent figures in the political and economic life of France are expected here to be a fresh contribution to the strengthening of traditionally friendly ties and cooperation between the two countries. The president of the Yugoslav Executive Council and the French prime minister will also exchange views on international questions, including global security and strategic problems following the U.S.-Soviet meeting in Geneva and the activity of the Movement of Non-alignment.

Premier Planinc will today meet president of the French National Assembly Louis Mermaz and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

DEFENDANT REMOVED FROM COURT FOR 'ABUSE'

LD151611 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jan (TANJUG) -- Judge Zoran Stojkovic's bench, before whom a group of six people charged with association with a view to committing enemy activity are being tried in Belgrade District Court, has removed the second defendant, Miodrag Milic, from the hearings until the end of the testimony proceedings.

Milic provoked the incident when asking questions of witness Veselinka Zastavnikovic, whose testimony was being heard today. He asked several questions that had no connection whatever with the subject matter of the trial and which contained the lowest possible political provocations. The court bench rejected these questions as impermissible and warned Milic that it would deny him the right to ask questions. Since Milic continued with these questions, this right was denied him. He reacted by shouting abuse at the court and especially at the president of the bench. The court bench was then compelled to remove Milic from the hearing.

Since in a vitriolic outburst Milic said that he was withdrawing his authority to his lawyer to defend him, the court bench had announced prior to the interruption of the hearing today that they would appoint an official lawyer for him. The decision concerning this matter will be announced tomorrow when the hearing resumes.

Witness Veselinka Zastavnikovic, who at one time lived in the same apartment with defendant Gordan Jovanovic, spoke of the meetings in the apartment as "thematic and spontaneous meetings" among friends and comrades.

SAWPY FEDERAL CONFERENCE VIEWS PRICE CONTROLS

LD151507 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 14 Jan 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG) -- Some developments in prices, noticed at the beginning of the year, are a serious warning that compliance with the orientation laid down by the resolution on socioeconomic development is inadequate. This evaluation was made at today's session of the SWAPY Federal Conference Presidium, chaired by Marjan Rozic, which discussed the implementation of this document at the beginning of the year although this was not anticipated when the meeting convened.

The report on implementation of the socioeconomic development resolution was submitted by Janez Zemljaric, Federal Executive Council [FEC] vice president, who stressed that the documents adopted were the most important in defining the conditions in which to run the economy this year. The systemic and development documents required for the implementation of the second phase of economic stabilization are being prepared at an accelerated pace. The FEC will submit them to the SFRY Assembly by the end of March. The problem of exchange rate differences which, according to Zemljaric, was one of the major financial undertakings in our country since the end of the last war, was resolved to a considerable extent.

Zemljaric informed members of the Presidium of the results of negotiations with the IMF and the governments of 16 countries, stressing that all conditions existed for this business to be resolved in a satisfactory manner. An agreement was reached with banks and governments to delay debt payment for 3 months and during this time arrangements with foreign partners for this year will be finalized. According to Zemljaric we cannot be at all satisfied with some developments in the country, especially with productivity, increased production, and exports which, he stressed, are the way out of the crisis.

The federal vice president spoke about price developments at the beginning of the year, stressing that there are some indications which warn that 1968 -- a year when the struggle to implement economic reform was abandoned because of rashness and uncontrolled developments -- could be repeated. Zemljaric rejected, however, any thought that the situation could improve if prices were again frozen. In addition, no special operational measures in this area are needed because such measures are already implicit in the existing documents and in the resolution.

In explaining the reasons for the increase at the beginning of the year in some prices laid down by the FEC, Zemljaric said this had to be done because the federal budget increased by 56 percent compared to last year. There was no other way to find the resources required to consolidate our country's defense capability because the economy is already over-stretched and the republican and provincial budgets are too limited. Some resources which will be gained from increased prices are earmarked to increase commodity reserves. This is also a function of stabilization.

All this was planned, but then some illicit changes were made in prices for some products and services. Many associated labor organizations did not comply with the law on social control of prices and the FEC is working to bring these organizations to account. Apart from that, added Zemljaric, little was done by the FEC to implement the social price control system, for which associated labor groups and sociopolitical communities are responsible.

Marjan Rozic, chairman, suggested that this report be approved -- which was done -- and that it should not be discussed. Nevertheless, five members of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium asked to speak. They said that those who continue increasing prices beyond the agreed ceiling should be curbed. Petar Rakocevic observed that the federal organs should have informed the public about the reasons for price increases promptly and more fully. Instead, various information and assessments came from the FEC, the trade unions, and the SAWPY Federal Conference. Milan Rakas urged greater coordination at the federal level for prices under state jurisdiction. In his view, the principles behind fixing economic prices did not receive ready acceptance and this is why developments in this area are not under control.

During discussion on protection of the human environment and tasks of the Socialist Alliance, the Presidium drew attention to the disparity between agreements and results in this area. This is confirmed by the approximately 300 existing laws and 1,000 accompanying regulations on the one hand, and, on the other, the inadequate degree of protection. True, in his introductory report Mito Micajkov provided some brighter notes in that recently an appreciable contribution was made to slow down environmental pollution. However, he said we must do a great deal more to improve and develop our society's organization in this area.

In Micajkov's assessment the obvious example of disparity between existing task division, for which the republics and the provinces are responsible, and concrete task implementation is seen in pollution of the Sava River. In all the reports on the solution of this problem and also in the FEC report on the so-called dead oil slicks on the Sava River Micajkov sees many shortcomings in the very people whose job is to concern themselves with this matter. He sees a special loophole in the fact that every republic and province, and municipality also, resolves these problems in its own way, instead of a unified approach existing, in keeping with the overall possibilities of our country.

Advocating long-term planning in this area the Federal Conference Presidium drew attention to the fact that we are on the eve of adopting the medium-term plan for our country's development for the period 1986-1990 and the long-term plan up the the period ending in the year 2000. This provides an opportunity for all environments to create realistic plans and programs in the area of environmental protection.

Bosko Mekus expressed the view that the problem of water pollution is not being handled in the same way, for example, as defense against floods, which is rightly being resolved in the country in a spirit of solidarity. In other words, clear water is a crucial condition for our life together, an irreplaceable economic resource, and our society should behave accordingly.

Anto Sucic believes categorically that inspection in the field of environmental protection must be introduced, including at the federal level. We must have an inspection service which will at any time be able to say what the source of pollution is, whether it be water, land or air, said Sucic.

The Presidium elected a working group to draft the conclusions of today's session.

MILITARY LEADERS HOLD 'SCIENTIFIC' CONFERENCE

LD152326 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Jan (TANJUG) -- Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, opened the scientific meeting "Armies in the Strategic Concept of the National Liberation War and the Revolution" in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] Club in Belgrade today. The meeting is attended by army commanders: Peko Dapcevic, Koca Popovic, Kosta Nadj; representatives of the 1st Army and 4th Army, Mijalko Todorovic and Bosko Skitjegovic; members of the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and Army Chiefs of Staff, commanders of the rear, division commanders and commissars, prominent armed forces officers, and military historians and theoreticians.

Four decades of peace is the greatest fruit of the victory of progressive and democratic forces in World War II, of the victory to which we and the National Liberation Army made a great contribution, Admiral Mamula said, opening the meeting. Although attempts are made today to dispute, or at least minimize our contribution to the Allies' joint victory, everyone in the world knows that Yugoslavia played the greatest possible role in that victory, in accordance with its opportunities for so doing: opportunities determined by the size of the country, the number of inhabitants, and the specific circumstances in which Yugoslavia found itself after the total enslavement of Europe. History and the prominent statesmen and leaders of World War II and of the modern world have given their judgment on this contribution.

Mamula went on to say that statements by the allied commanders during the war speak not only of the fact that we liberated the country by our own forces, but of the fact that our Army at that time was already sufficiently mature to serve as a link between the western and eastern fronts, maintaining an independent front in the Balkans, as the southern part of the allied encirclement which was closing ever tighter around the German stronghold. We had long since fought for and won such an independent strategic position and independence in executing strategic operations, and in this regard nothing changed for us except the turn which came about in respect of our National Liberation Army and the German occupying and quisling forces.

This turnabout, in fact, meant a change of roles: The fascist forces which for a full 3 years had been trying to keep us strategically encircled and often got us operationally encircled, now were themselves the ones to find themselves in the position of the encircled. The Balkan front, which was maintained by our National Liberation Army, was an important link in that chain of encirclement. It is understandable that almost twice as many German troops were engaged against our forces as against the allied forces in Italy. To be sure, the Germans were in a similar relation to our forces at the time of the battle at El Alamein and the battles on the Neretva and Sutjeska. This only indicates that the Germans had maximum respect for us as an enemy. Respect for our independent strategic position at the time when we established a physical link with the allies also meant, finally, recognition of all the earlier great victories. This sort of independent strategic position on our part in the final operations in World War II will be seen as the point of departure of our political philosophy of nonalignment and our independent nonbloc defense policy and doctrine, which counts primarily on relying on one's own forces.

These historical facts are well known, which makes certain current articles about the final period of the war in Europe sound and appear all the more strange and anachronistic, inspired as they are with the desire to belittle our role and contribution to the joint struggle against fascism.

Certain forces in the world, guided by pragmatic and political motives, have evolved their own unusual method of exerting pressure upon our country by falsifying and denying historical facts. Of course, this can damage only them, for no one in the world who is in the least well-informed can be deceived by all this, especially not our nations and nationalities who for 4 years of the war bore a great burden and made superhuman sacrifices for their freedom and independence and for the joint victory of the antifascist coalition.

Today, with this scientific meeting and with the many other manifestations and activities to be held this year, we are actively marking the great victory which we won in the war, a victory which had and will continue to have a permanent influence upon the historical trends and transformations of our country and a significant effect upon one epoch of the modern world.

We may designate the second goal of today's debate as being a political one, for in contemporary international circumstances and in the contradictory internal economic and political conditions, questions of defense, independence, integrity, and the constitutional order of our country arise in their most serious guise. We are witnesses of the fact that in our internal development we are being confronted by great difficulties. These are being manifested in the economic, political and, even, in the ideological sphere. In this context attempts are being made increasingly frequently to degrade, deform, and even deny a number of essential achievements of the revolution. It is, therefore, very important that Tito's comrades-in-arms and his direct associates in the armed cause of the revolution and in its postwar development should constantly manifest their interest in its further development and its defense. It is in this sense very important that the united, joint political and military-theoretical activity of the generation of old revolutionaries and the postwar generations of officers of our Army, activity inspired by the goals of defending the achievements of the revolution, should be made manifest in various ways, ways such as this, for instance. This is without doubt the supreme common interest of all our nations and nationalities and of all the working people and citizens of our country.

Our four armies, Admiral Mamula went on, which were formed in 1945, were capable of conducting frontline actions and operations, the kind of operations conducted in World War II. In addition, behind the front line, in the enemy's rear, we had about a quarter of our forces, which gave our operations the quality of combined operations. In these combined operations, despite a lack of the most modern technology, we were able to simultaneously attack the entire defense zone of the German armored army and sections of the German Army E Group, which managed to withdraw from the strikes of the corps operational group in the central part of the country. Furthermore, our forces were engaged not only in the rear line but also in the front line: the aforementioned corps group in the central part of the country with the national defense corps operating in our rear line.

Over a great part of the battlefield the forces were mingled, and the fronts intertwined. It was not, therefore, a question of a front as an imagined line of contact between two opposed forces, of a front understood in the classic sense of this word, but of a doubly inverse front. Such a picture of the operations, seen for the first time on our field of battle, can of course be favorable only to an army fighting on its own territory with the broadest possible support and assistance from its people. This experience is of cardinal importance for our modern concept and doctrine.

From all that I have said, Mamula stressed in conclusion, it is clear that we are constructively applying the experiences of the national liberation war as a whole in our modern concept and doctrine of an all-people's liberation war, in conformity with new conditions that are essentially different from those in World War II.

"In conclusion, we may say that the national liberation war and its experiences remain The permanent starting point for our modern military thought and practice. It is, therefore, of particular importance that in today's debate and every time the opportunity is offered we not only recall those experiences but also reflect upon from them the standpoint of their possible application in modern conditions," Admiral Mamula said.

The meeting continued its work with an introductory report delivered by Colonel General Peko Dapcevic:

Despite its extreme audacity and historical significance, the party's decision to start the armed struggle would have been no more that a futile call to try to do the impossible if a revolutionary army, with a powerful regular army component, had not been started as early as the end of 1941 and if it had not been created in the course of 1942 to enable us to guide and consistently and persistently develop and promote our revolutionary war. Proceeding from this assertion, Peko Dapcevic, chairman of the meeting's organizational committee, stressed in his introductory expose, the great importance of the creation of the first proletarian and shock brigades for the formation of our four armies. It was these forces, he said, which served as the nucleus of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and as a power force to implement various combat actions and maneuvers.

The four armies were created between January and May 1945. Step by step, Tito resolutely, but patiently, brought our Armed Forces closer to the realization of the political and military-strategic goals of the war of national liberation. It was these goals, promoted by the higher forms of military organization, which were initiated in November of the crucial year 1942 by establishing the divisions and corps of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia a long time before there was a strategic change on the major world fronts. At least two aspects of this fact, Dapcevic said, are of importance for us. The first is that the national liberation and revolutionary war was the result and expression of the specific character of the proletarian masses, led by the LCY, and the second is that such a specific revolutionary war is evidence, even though indirect, of the significant contribution made by our movement to the change on the major fronts.

The fundamental aims of the entire strategic concept of our revolutionary war were to: wage a war of national liberation and not run a resistance movement or a guerrilla force; achieve victory in war with our own resources by making use of any suitable advance by our allies; create the necessary military and political prerequisities for joining all the Yugoslav territories to the mother country; pave the way to a transformation of society; and finally, prevent interference by anyone from outside, which would have represented a deviation from the basic national liberation orientation of our future visions of society, because the war was being waged by the Yugoslav Communist Party [YCP].

Dapcevic went on to speak in detail about the military-political and military-strategic reasons for the formation of the armies. In his view the main military-political reason was to demonstrate our own military power to our allies and show that the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia had grown to the level of modern armies. In this way it was made clear to them that we were able to complete the final stage of World War II in our own battle area with our own forces, and in keeping with the principles underlying the kind of major operations carried out toward the end of the war. This, Dapcevic stressed, precluded any need for the allies' interference in these operations except at our wish and with our agreement, which was undoubtedly one of the greatest political achievements of our war of national liberation. This gained us exceptional political prestige and great freedom of action. We would not have been fully successful in this respect if it had not been for our armies being organized as strategic operational formations.

Another reason is to be found in the need to link our own front with that of our allies in the north, and it was also important to create essential military prerequisites to defend the gains of the revolutionary war, should this have become necessary. Objectively speaking, the armies were a guarantee of these gains, as well as an actual force that had to be taken into account by all the Allies in their relations with us in the final stage of the war, especially during the period of constructing our new state.

Speaking about the military-strategic reasons for the formation of the armies, Peko Dapcevic stressed that the 680,000 enemy soldiers and quislings could not be defeated without first increasing our forces and forming the armies.

He went on to speak in great detail about some of the characteristics of the strategic use of the armies in the final stage of the war of national libeation. The basic idea for a strategic maneuver in using the armies was the idea of strategic encirclement, which had to be realized by means of a deep encircling movement of the flank armies on the flank sections of the strategic front. The final maneuver was the strategic encirclement, annihilation, or capture of a powerful enemy group or preventing it from making an organized retreat in the direction of Austria or from possibly surrendering to the Western Allies. In terms of the dynamism, scope, and speed of our operations we had to follow the Red Army's action on the northern front and overtake the Allies on the southern front and without fail reach our country's northwestern borders before they did. In this manner we could achieve our military aims and also certain "preventive" political aims of the war of national liberation.

The ability to conduct frontal operations, Dapcevic said, testifies to the organizational, technical, and operational development of the Yugoslav Army, into the kind of regular army typical of the end of World War II. This also demonstrated the fact that we had in every way outgrown any "partisan" period of development of the Army and that in terms of the total effect of our military action we had long surpassed the effects of even the most powerful resistance movement. It is well known that certain influential circles even among our war allies are constantly trying to belittle as much as possible both our contribution to the common victory over fascism and our level of organization as a belligerent side. One can imagine, Dapevic noted, how far this belittling could go, even at the end of the war, if we had not been capable of conducting frontal action and even major frontal operations.

Kosta Nadj spoke at length about the numerical strength of our armies, stressing that on January 1945 we had 450,000 fighting men and women in 49 partisan detachments, 230 brigades, 56 divisions, 2 division groups, 2 air force divisions, and in the navy, 15 corps and 3 armies.

The transition from partisan warfare to frontal actions was neither easy nor simple, Nadj went on. Compared with the preceding period, all our units suffered enormous losses when they switched over to modern warfare. Marshal Tito at that time pointed out to us "the many mistakes and shortcomings of our regular units" and commanders who failed to understand that "the character of warfare has changed".

We never, even in 1941, Kosta Nadj stressed, saw our liberation and the destruction of the enemy on our soil as a gift, nor expected it as one. We saw them exclusively as due to the action of our own forces, but we did not overlook the significance of the friendly allied coordinated actions of the other forces of the antifascist coalition, in which the Red Army represented the key guarantee for every one of us that fascism would definitely be destroyed on the world scale. Nadj again recalled that his concept of the balance of forces in the international field had constantly been accompanied by the dominant conviction that we had to win victory on our own, because there was no freedom that came as a gift, just as it was not possible to import a social system from one state to another as if it were merchandise.

Of particularly lasting value among our armies' experiences is the scientific material on war waged by the armed people. Research into this experience is also important because we need to find out how to creatively incorporate it into the modern concept of defending a country based on socialist self-management, Kosta Nadj stressed.

The next speaker at the scientific meeting at Belgrade's YPA Club was Bozo Lazarevic, who focused on development of the Yugoslav Air Force during the war of national liberation.

Sava Drljevic stressed that the early days of the 1st Army saw combined action with Red Army units, during which our fighters gained important experience through which they became fully capable of the complex army operations that followed.

France Poglajn said that the contribution made by forces in the enemy's rear had been of inestimable value.

Djordje Dragic spoke about the care of wounded men in the 1st, 2d, and 3d Armies and Milija Stanisic said that the question openly posed throughout the world in 1941 was whether Yugoslavia could and should remain on the political scene. The YCP's reply was the concept of the war of liberation, which was the aspiration of the Yugoslav nations and nationaltiies, Stanisic stressed.

Milutin Moraca, speaking about the combined actions of the 1st, 2d, and 3d Armies during the final operations for the country's liberation, stressed that in those days fighters had neither the experience nor equipment needed for operations of such a scale and yet our armies successfully combined their activities and broke down German resistance, thus creating conditions for the country's final liberation.

Nikola Pejnovic said that our armies' successful actions had proved the correctness of Tito's concept of the war of liberation.

Radivoje Jovnovic spoke about the need for a critical analysis of not only the final operations, but of the entire course of the war of national liberation.

Mitar Vujovic, speaking about allied aid, said that such aid had been conditional upon numerous political demands. Vujovic said that in 1943, when we were most in need of aid it often did not come, because it followed a zigzag path. It is well known that Tito had to send many telegrams to the Allies and that the transport of our wounded to Italy was not without political blackmail and other forms of pressure. I do not mean to say that the Allies did not help us, but that despite this aid, we had already created conditions on the liberated territories during the war that enabled us to meet the needs of the National Liberation Army and the people.

Miro Sumonja said that our war and system of command had been elastic, with little administration, and that personal influence had had a decisive effect on the outcome of battles. This was possible, Sumonja said, because initiative was highly developed from enlisted men to officers, who all considered the outcome of every event with equal responsibility. These principles can again be applied today.

Gavro Perazic spoke about war arrangements in which the Allies' duplicity had manifested itself. In this connection he mentioned the Allies' desire for coordination in the military field but not in the political field as well, because in connection with the latter, they had to recognize the new order that had been established through the liberation struggle of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

Ilija Nikezic stressed that the strategy of the war of national liberation had been created and tested on our soil during a war in which we were victorious. The general application of these experiences, Nikezic said, is of inestimable value for our military science and theory.

Bogdan Pecotic, Mico Cusic, Uros Kostic, Pera Damjanovic, Nikola Anic, Zeljko Kovacevic, Dragoljub Tmusic, and Antun Miletic also spoke during the remainder of the scientific meeting's discussion.

Winding up the scientific meeting, Col-Gen Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the YPA said: "This meeting ranks among those that have most effectively combined the combat and war experience of the direct participants in the war of national liberation and the theoretical experience of the researchers and theoreticians from our postwar generations. This type of combination adds strength to every argument in the scientific-theoretical sphere and adds dynamism and interest to debate."

"This year," Gracanin continued, "is, as has already been stressed on several occasions, the year in which we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism." "We tied down dozens of the occupiers' and quisling divisions in our battle area during the war. The only independent front in Europe was ours. All these are historical facts known to everybody and we are compelled to defend the truth before the world again as on many previous occasions, because of the increasingly frequent ill-intentioned distortions of history," Gracanin said in conclusion. "We must leave even more convincing testimonies of this to the generations that will take over from us. We must not allow the truth about our enormous contribution to the victory over fascism to remain confined solely to the memory of the generations that remember the war, but rather we must leave convincing written theoretical testimonies about this. This meeting represents a significant contribution to that."

BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE QUESTIONABLE

AU151932 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 85 p 2

[Permanent correspondent Dusan Pesic report]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan -- One gains the impression that Soviet political and ideological musings, both theoretical and practical, are again placing increasing emphasis on the need for the international workers and communist movement to have a monolithic nature, on class solidarity as a criterion in assessing international relations, and so on.

All this is based on and corroborated by the insistence on an almost canonical significance of the principle of proletarian and socialist internationalism. In these obvious moves and processes, many foreign observers also see the wish to initiate again the question of convoking international, even world conferences of communist parties, although it is known that many parties are against such an outdated method of building a common, all-obliging platform and conclusion.

Echoes of the "Prague Initiative"

There is an interesting article in this respect by Boris Ponomarev, well-known party official and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in the January issue of the theoretical journal KOMMUNIST, which is entitled "On the Historical Destiny of the Workers Class."

In one part (at the end) of the text, he especially writes about "the increasing significance of internationalism" in modern conditions. According to many indications, this looks like a continuation of the author's musings that were recently announced at the session of the international editorial board of the journal PROBLEMY NA MIRA I SOTSIALISMA that was held in Prague.

Now, in KOMMUNIST, as one of the four most important historical conclusions about the historic struggle of the workers class (the first three are: the confirmation of Marx' teaching about the development of the workers movement; the significance of Marx' and Lenin's revolutionary teaching; and the party as a necessary vanguard of the workers class) Ponomarev gives the following: "Each new stage in the development of the revolutionary process has confirmed the untenability of reformist roads in the transformation of capitalist society. The indisputable truth has been confirmed that socialism can be achieved only through class struggle and revolution, on the basis of the laws discovered by scientific socialism...."

Many foreign analysts see in this premise of Ponomarev an indirect reply, a reprimand even, to Eurocommunist tendencies that are trying, cooperating with social democrats within the framework of existing parliamentary systems, to build roads into socialist society in conformity with the conditions and tradition of the community they are active in. As one can see, from the Soviet point of view, this thesis is called into question.

Further elaborating his idea, Ponomarev concludes that one of the most important "lessons in the development of the international workers movement is the necessity of a correct, scientifically based approach to the dialectics of the national element and the international element in the class struggle, to the principle of proletarian internationalism...." He further thinks that the buildup of socialism and revolutionary trends toward socialism "are developed in every country according to nationally specific conditions and forms, but are international in their social essence..."

Upon the foundation set in this way, the author builds the position that "any deviation from internationalism has ended in major defeats for the workers class...."

Socialist Internationalism Establishes Relations Among Countries

The next thesis is that proletarian internationalism has expanded its spheres of activity and is enriched with new contents, socialist internationalism, "which establishes relations among the sovereign states of the world socialist system...." principle of internationalism, it is also pointed out, also establishes relations of the countries "of real socialism with countries of an anti-imperialist and socialist orientation..."

In other words, one can understand that socialist internationalism, according to the Soviet interpretation, is a sort of rule and obligation of behavior among socialist countries that, one would say, must not deviate, which is far from being a generally accepted idea in the world communist movement, as well as in some socialist countries.

Ponomarev emphasizes, however, that in "contemporary conditions the significance of proletarian internationalism is increasing even more...." He thinks that monolithism is necessary in the sense of preventing a nuclear war, and also in "opposing the international coordination of actions by the class enemy...."

One can also see how firm the Soviet stand on this complex issue is from the conclusion in the said article that proletarian internationalism presents the basis of relations of Marxist-Leninist parties. Does that mean that no other approach and contents of relations are recognized at all?

In conformity with the said way of thinking, one comes to the following, in many ways key, conclusion: "There is an increasingly more present demand within the communist movement to establish in a regular way opinions and assessments, to agree upon joint actions...."

One could believe that, irrespective of the known past unfavorable, even damaging experiences as a result of insisting upon unified stands and actions that were agreed upon in advance and established at various world party conferences, the idea of "desirability" of this kind of established monolithic quality is being renewed again. Indeed, the author positively assesses all similar gatherings held "in the past 70 years" without any reserve or judgment, ranging from the Third International onward, "as well as the activity of various information organs and publications of communist and workers parties, international conferences that were accompanied by regional and bilateral meetings...."

It is strange that there is not a word about the well-known attitudes of many parties that failed to favorably assess the said past experiences and that now also do not support such forms of cooperation. For, many things have happened in the past 70 years: During this long period there existed Comintern and Cominform (as forms of gathering); individual parties were condemned, which led to the generally known harmful consequences. All this should be thoroughly evaluated in search of the most favorable and acceptable forms of cooperation on an equal footing and in taking stands among communist parties. There is little possibility, starting from convincing examples from the nearer or more distant past, that some new big conference would be the best way, irrespective of the motives.

BRIEFS

ENERGY TALKS WITH GREECE -- Athens, Jan 12 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and Greece have broad possibilities for introducing more complex forms of economic cooperation in the field of fuel and power industry. This has been concluded in the talks between President of the Executive Council of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Ante Markovic, Yugoslav Ambassador in Greece Trajko Trajkovski, Greek co-chairman of the joint Yugoslav-Greek Committee for Economic Cooperation Kostas Vaitsos and Greek Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Elevtherios Verivakis. They emphasized that an example to be followed in developing this kind of economic cooperation is the recently concluded contract between Yugoslav manufacturers "RADE KONCAR" and "LITOSTROJ", and the Greek company "VIEX" to jointly deliver equipment worth 19.5 million dollars for the Stratos hydro-power plant on the Akheloos River. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1253 GMT 12 Jan 85 LD]